THE METHODIST CHURCH, CANADA, 1884-1912

by

Erling Godfred Lindstrom

B.A., Gustavus Adolphus College, 1963

B.D., Lutheran School of Theology at Chicago, 1967

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Name: Erling Godfred Lindstrom

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Examining Committee:

Chairman: C. L. Hamilton

H. J. M. Johnston
Senior Supervisor

J. M. Bumsted

G. L. Cook

P. M. Koroscil
External Examiner
Assistant Professor
Department of Geography
Simon Fraser University

Date Approved: May 12, 1972

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ABSTRACT

The Methodist Church is studied in relation to contrast and tension between movement and denominational emphases. A movement concentrates on a special interest; a denomination is comprehensive in its interests. These themes appear natural to the study of Methodism, which lived its early history as a reform movement within the Church of England and subsequently developed denominational characteristics. But every Christian church has some of both emphases. This study concentrates on the period between 1884 and 1912. In 1884 Canadian Methodism overcame its organizational divisions and in 1912 declared itself ready to merge with Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

The movement and denominational themes are traced through chapters on basic questions faced by The Methodist Church: historical criticism, university federation, mission to the West, and welfare. Historical criticism provided the occasion for Methodism's first analytical assessment of its theology. University federation, in which Methodism played a vital role, was a uniquely Canadian arrangement for church and state participation in higher education. Anticipated and actual settlement of the West challenged Canadian Methodism to its greatest missionary effort. Interest

in welfare increased in response to the growth of industrial and immigration problems and the sensitizing effect of the social gospel. Change or continuity with Methodism's earlier tradition and its position relative to other large churches serve as the main bases of comparison.

In The Methodist Church the movement theme was secondary but made its influence felt in all areas of that church's life. In theology Methodism continued to emphasize personal faith and to consider more structured forms of religious expression, like confessional statements and sacraments, as less important. In university federation Methodism preceded the other churches in responding to the pressure for cooperation imposed by the Canadian environment. Methodist movement tradition was also apparent in mission and welfare. Methodists placed more confidence in the presence of the missionary than did the other large churches and its diaconate was modeled after that of primative Christianity in distinction from the more formal Roman Catholic orders.

The primacy of the denominational theme in The Methodist Church was attested by institutional and ideological comprehensiveness. New institutions developed in The Methodist Church included theological departments and union, city missions, and the diaconate. Formal theological training for clerical candidates, previously considered unnecessary, was the norm. Participation in university federation also signified further institutional development. This federation gave Methodism a direct institutional role in Canada's strongest university. Ideological comprehensiveness was equally evident. The Methodist Church encompassed a broad range of theological and ethical opinion. In theology, historical criticism and dogmatism were both tolerated. In ethics, Methodism's traditional emphasis on individual

reform was balanced by affirmation of the need for social reform. Though the movement interest in evangelical reform continued, it had to share the stage with various other theological, educational, and missionary interests of The Methodist Church.

PREFACE

This study in Canadian religious history focuses on basic aspects of the life of The Methodist Church. The result is less a history of The Methodist Church than an exploration of certain topics which illustrate this church's internal life and its relation to other major churches and the state. In the exploration of these topics the role of leadership, clerical and lay, has been prominent. The choice of other topics and greater attention to the rank and file may have altered but likely would not have reversed the conclusions of the study. The themes used in this study of Methodism could have broader application in religious history.

Several persons have been of assistance in the preparation of this thesis; the writer is particularly indebted to two of them. H. J. M. Johnston, thesis supervisor, contributed much to the development of the thesis through questions and suggestions in connection with various drafts. My wife, Myrna took employment while the thesis was being written and assisted with proof reading and discussion of numerous points. The writer takes full responsibility for remaining weaknesses.

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INTRODUCTION

The formation of The Methodist Church, Canada, in 1884 was the culmination of a succession of Methodist mergers during the previous half-century. A benefit that The Methodist Church gained from its history was experience in the problems of this process. The earliest mergers had been weakened by continued divisions as small groups broke away to perpetuate the distinctive ideas of their separate traditions. Divisions in the 1830's and 1840's had caused numerous problems including dual claims to church property. Merger requires a measure of compromise or tolerance and both of these had often been lacking. Such was the case at Ernesttown, Upper Canada in 1836 when two factions stayed after church, each waiting for the other to leave, so that it could gain control of the building by putting its own lock on the door. The two factions, Rev. John Ryerson later related with a touch of humor, "remained all night, watching, certainly, if not praying."[1] By 1884, however, Methodists had learned to compromise old traditions for the benefits of developing a stronger church. The 1884 merger decision was not made without expressed differences of opinion; it followed five days of debate at a special General Conference. But the decision once made was adhered to without later divisions.

The uniqueness of early Methodism was that it remained a movement within the Church of England for over sixty years. In this early Methodism

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[1]Quoted in Rev. Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism; Its Epochs and Characteristics, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), p. 276. Some chapters in this volume consist of previously unpublished material by John Ryerson.

was unlike the sixteenth century Reformation which, contrary to Luther's first intentions, quickly resulted in the formation of new churches. Only ten years after his posting of the Ninety Five Thesis in 1517, Luther and his followers comprised essentially a separate church in the district of Saxony; in the absence of bishops who had all remained with the old church, the new church had a committee of clergy and laity appointed by the prince to visit the churches.[2] In Switzerland the followers of Zwingli gained recognition in areas where they were entrenched in 1531, only twelve years after Zwingli had begun reformatory preaching.[3] The steps which led to the establishment of the Church of England in 1534 took even less time, five years. As a movement, Methodism was more interested in reforming the Anglican church than in becoming a church itself. Wesley's stated aim was "not to form any new sect; but to reform the nation, particularly the Church; and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land."[4] The Methodist movement was dedicated to the propagation of this evangelical emphasis within the Church of England. Consequently, Wesley remained an ordained Anglican to the end of his long life and his followers attended both Methodist and Anglican worship services, the former being scheduled so as not to conflict with the latter. Methodists received the sacraments in Anglican churches and called their own places of worship by a subordinate name, chapel. In purpose but not in emphasis the Methodist movement

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[2]Roland H. Bainton. The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952), p. 71.

[3]Bainton, Reformation, pp. 80, 144.

[4]Works, ed. T. Jackson, 11 edition (1856), Volume 8, p. 288, cited by Henry D. Rack, The Future of John Wesley's Methodism, (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1965), p. 16.

resembled the Oxford movement which, a century later, promoted a Roman Catholic emphasis in the Church of England. Early Methodism's evangelical interest in reform was still a part of Canadian Methodist tradition in 1884.

Its early life as a reform movement within an established body left a permanent stamp on Methodism, but the movement did not continue unchanged. Problems created by the War of Independence hastened the establishment of a separate Methodist body in the United States, where the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1784 with Wesley's help and the benefit of Anglican ordination.[5] The War of 1812 in turn hastened the establishment of an independent Methodist body in Canada, where the Methodist Episcopal Church peacefully separated from its American parent in 1828. In England, the death of Wesley in 1791 led to the legal establishment of a separate body, soon called the British Wesleyans. The Methodist movement was further divided by the separation of several small groups from the British Wesleyans. The first of these groups was the Methodist New Connexion Church formed in 1797. More democratic and more independent of the Church of England than were the British Wesleyans, the Methodist New Connexion Church scheduled services at hours convenient to its members, administered its own sacraments, and had lay representation at conferences.[6] This group sent its first missionary to Canada in 1837. Seven Methodist groups were

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[5]Clifton E. Olmstead, History of Religion in the United States, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1960), p. 226.

[6]Rev. William Williams, "Historical Sketch of the Methodist New Connexion Church in Canada," Centennial Of Canadian Methodism, Published by Direction of The General Conference, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1891), pp. 96-98.

at work in Canada before the number was reduced by mergers.[7] These Methodist divisions were not indigenous to Canada but had all been imported. This fact together with the weaknesses of these scattered groups in Canada probably explains why the divisions were healed earlier in Canada than in the parent countries. Major intra-Methodist mergers did not take place in Britain and the United States until the 1930's, by which time Canadian Methodism had already merged with other denominations.

The first Methodist merger in Canada took place in 1833, when the Methodist Episcopal Church merged with British Wesleyans in Upper Canada to form the Wesleyan Methodist Church. This merger prepared the way for further union by compromising differences between Methodists of British and American origin. Like its American parent, the former Methodist Episcopal Church had been equalitarian and voluntaryist, while the former British Wesleyans had deferred to the Anglican church and had accepted state grants. The new body was basically voluntaryist but did receive state grants.[8] It promoted civil and religious liberty but stopped short of supporting rebellion.[9] This Wesleyan Methodist Church compromise was reflected in the life and views of Canadian Methodist leader Rev. Egerton Ryerson. Ryerson had been born the son of a United Empire Loyalist and Anglican farmer but

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[7]These groups are listed in Douglas J. Wilson, The Church Grows in Canada, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), p. 56.

[8]Victoria University, founded in 1841, received an annual grant from the Upper Canada legislature, Rev. Nathanael Burwash, "Methodist Education in Canada," Centennial, pp. 304, 314.

[9]Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics. The Role of The Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada and The Maritimes from 1780 to 1855, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 155.

had joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1821. As first editor of The Christian Guardian, founded in 1829, he fought for religious equality in Upper Canada.[10] As a delegate in the merger negotiations, he urged upon his group the acceptance of a grant from the British government.[11] During a later trip to England from December 1835 to March 1837 Ryerson obtained a Royal Charter and a grant of 4,000 pounds for Upper Canada Academy.[12] When further merger discussions took place the Wesleyan Methodist Church already had successful experience in encompassing disparate elements.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church was torn by controversy but became the strongest Methodist body in Canada. In 1834 a portion of the Methodist Episcopalian group withdrew in opposition to state grants and reconstituted the Methodist Episcopal Church.[13] Those who withdrew also objected to measures taken by the 1834 Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church for the closer supervision of local preachers. This conference had arranged to ordain local preachers and to discontinue local preachers' conferences.[14] More passionately stated the separatists accused the members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of "High Church Toryism" and "of selling themselves for money."[15] Though these accusations were extreme, the

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[10]Clara Thomas, Ryerson of Upper Canada, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), p. 60.

[11]Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada. The Formative Years, 1784-1841, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1963), p. 181.

[12]Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, pp. 321-322.

[13]Rev. S.G. Stone, "Historical Sketch of The Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada," Centennial, p. 166.

[14]Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 271.

[15]Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 273.

Wesleyan Methodist Church's policy of obtaining state grants and ordaining local preachers did represent greater institutional development and a more regular clergy. This division was resolved only in 1884, at which time the Methodist Episcopal Church was the second largest Methodist body in Canada but only about one fifth as large as the Wesleyans.[16]

A further division in the Wesleyan Methodist Church occurred in 1840 when some British Wesleyans, encouraged by their counterparts in Britain, withdrew in opposition to what they considered the political involvement of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.[17] Their main objection was to Ryerson's campaign, in the Guardian, against a clergy endowed from Clergy Reserve funds. Ryerson's first preference was that these funds be used for educational purposes.[18] Though those who withdrew lacked Ryerson's penchant for political debate, the basic difference between them was that they held different political and ecclesiastical points of view. Those who withdrew accepted the existing Church Establishment while Ryerson did not. This division was healed when the British Wesleyans who had withdrawn returned seven years later.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church was the dominant body in subsequent mergers. A merger in 1854 united Wesleyans in Upper and Lower Canada; one in

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[16]In the 1881 census the number of adherents to the various Methodist groups in Canada was The Methodist Church of Canada 582,963, Methodist Episcopal Church 103,272, Bible Christian Church 27,236, Primitive Methodist Church 25,680, other Methodists 3,830, Henry J. Morgan ed., The Dominion Annual Register and Review for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Years of the Canadian Union, 1880-1881, (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1882), p. 465.

[17]Rev. Hugh Johnston, "Historical Sketch of The Wesleyan Methodist Church in Upper and Lower Canada," Centennial, pp. 83-86.

[18]Editorial, The Christian Guardian, (11 July 1838), cited in Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 326.

1874 merged Wesleyans in the Canadas with those in the Maritimes and a smaller group, the Methodist New Connexion Church. The latter merger involved independence from British Wesleyans who did not yet approve of lay representation to the General Conference.[19] The new body was called The Methodist Church of Canada. Finally, the 1884 merger united nearly all Canadian Methodists into one body called simply The Methodist Church.[20] Like Presbyterianism with whom it later merged, Canadian Methodism was now organized along national lines and was less dependent on a mother church than was Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism. The Methodist Church did, however, retain friendly informal ties with the British Wesleyans, and representatives from "the mother Methodism of the world" continued to be warmly received at Canadian General Conferences.[21]

A feature of the relative strength of the Wesleyan Methodist Church was that it inherited the strongest Methodist publication and founded its strongest school. This body inherited the Guardian in 1833. In 1841 the Wesleyan Methodist Church founded Victoria University, from which most of the future leaders of Canadian Methodism were to graduate. Victoria's graduates included Albert Carman, the last bishop of the Methodist

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[19]Rev. E.H. Dewart, "The Methodist Church of Canada, 1873-1883," Centennial, pp. 130-133.

[20]In addition to The Methodist Church of Canada and the Methodist Episcopal Church, the 1884 merger included two smaller bodies of British origin. They were the Primitive Methodist Church and the Bible Christian Church which had begun work in Canada in 1829 and 1832 respectively. Two tiny ethnic groups remained outside of The Methodist Church. These were the German-speaking Methodists, called The Evangelical Association, and the African Methodists.

[21]The Christian Guardian, (7 September 1898), p. 561.

Episcopal Church, from 1874. These institutions probably weakened Methodist divisions along group lines.

While Methodism was merging its groups and developing its institutions, it was also gaining greater acceptance by the state. In 1831, for instance, Methodist clergy in Upper Canada were granted the right to perform marriages and burials,[22] a privilege that "conferred distinction and profit upon those who possessed it."[23] This right had been restricted primarily to Anglican clergy, with the privilege being extended to Lutheran, Calvinist, and Church of Scotland clergymen under certain conditions. These conditions were that the Justices of the Peace deemed it expedient and that one member to the marriage had been a member of the clergyman's congregation for six months.[24] Egerton Ryerson had travelled twenty miles to get a Presbyterian clergyman to perform his marriage service and John Ryerson had employed an Anglican clergyman at his marriage.[25] Methodism was also included in the annual distribution of Clergy Reserves funds from 1841 through 1854. During a five-year period, 1841 through 1845, the Church of England received 41,497 pounds, the Church of Scotland 16,040 pounds, the Church of Rome

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[22]Thomas, Ryerson, p. 63.

[23]Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 162.

[24]"Report of The Select Committee" to The Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, Marshall S. Bidwell, Chairman, March 15, 1828, printed in Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 205

[25]Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, pp. 162-163.

8,335 pounds, and Wesleyan Methodists 3,429 pounds.[26] Though this distribution favored the three churches which had already benefited the most from state support in Canada, Methodist inclusion as the only other participant indicated increased acceptance by the state.

The emerging comprehensiveness of Canadian Methodism by 1884 contrasts readily with the special emphasis of the early Methodist movement. Far from being a movement within another body, Canadian Methodism in 1884 was itself a comprehensive church organized along state lines. Consolidation, not important to a movement but essential to a major church, had given Canadian Methodism strength to develop publishing and educational institutions. Institutional development in turn qualified Methodism for participation in state grants. In organizational unity, institutional development, and participation in state grants, Methodism had come to resemble the three major churches in Canada, Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and Roman Catholicism, more than it resembled churches like the Baptists and Congregationalists. Baptists had developed educational institutions but, consistent with their tradition, played a more independent role in Canada. They did not achieve organizational unity and, except in Nova Scotia, neither desired

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[26] John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West. Three Studies in The Relation of Denominationalism, 1841-1867, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), Appendix 4, p. 188. Distribution from the disposal of the Clergy Reserves in 1854 was even more inequitable but the same four denominations participated. The amount distributed was 381,982 pounds. Of this amount the Church of England received 64 per cent, the Church of Scotland 28 per cent, the Church of Rome 5.4 per cent, and the Wesleyan Methodists 2.6 per cent or 9,769 pounds, Moir, Church and State, p. 79. These funds were distributed by the British Parliament to the parent church bodies for work in Canada. British Wesleyans turned the Methodist share over to the Wesleyan Methodists in Canada.

nor received state support. Congregationalists were cooperative but were too small to develop educational and publishing institutions of their own in Canada.[27] In this study, the term denomination will be used to describe the comprehensiveness emerging in Canadian Methodism by 1884.

The difference between a movement and a denomination in this study does not parallel the distinction between a sect and a church introduced into Canadian sociology by S.D. Clark. To begin with the terms used here are not synonyms for sect and church. The term sect conveys a theological and organizational distinctiveness not characteristic of the term movement, which was indigenous to early Methodism. Use of the term denomination, rather than church, to designate a body with a comprehensive institutional and religious life also appears more natural in this study. The word church is commonly used in reference to any group of believers; to restrict its application to groups with a certain form of religious organization seems unduly arbitrary. More important than the actual terms selected, however, is the way these terms relate to each other. In Clark's terminology a religious body was described as a sect or a church depending on its basic attitude to society. "The sect," wrote Clark, "emphasizes the exclusiveness of religious organization; the worldly society is something evil, of no concern to the spiritually minded."[28] Conversely, "the church seeks the accommodation of religious organization to the community; the welfare of society is something for which it feels responsible."[29] A movement is

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[27]When they achieved denominational unity in 1906, Congregationalists represented only one half of one per cent of the Canadian population, Wilson, The Church, p. 71.

[28]S.D. Clark, Church and Sect In Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), p. xii.

[29]Ibid.

distinguished from a denomination not by its attitude to society but by the way in which it approaches society. A movement tries to reform society to accommodate its special interest; a denomination tries to reform society by participation in a variety of questions. The Methodist movement on the Canadian frontier of the 1820's, for example, made its impact on society chiefly by building up the faith of its members. By contrast, Canadian Methodism in the 1880's merged its remaining fragments, launched its mission to the West, and engaged in the discussion of university federation almost simultaneously.

The Methodist Church, 1884-1912, benefited from the high religious interest characteristic of that period in Canada. In the first decennial census, in 1871, 16.27 per cent of the Canadian population gave Methodism as their religious adherence,[30] making it the largest protestant body in the country. Methodism retained this lead until after the turn of the century when it was exceeded first by Presbyterianism and then by Anglicanism.[31] The latter two bodies apparently benefited more from immigration than did Methodism. In addition to numerical strength, Canadian Methodism enjoyed an impressive growth rate. During the two decades ending in 1881 and 1891 Methodist growth rate was more rapid than that of the Canadian population. After that time Methodist growth rate lagged behind that of the Canadian population but numerical increases continued to be substantial. During the

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[30] The Canada Year Book 1927-28. The Official Statistical Annual Of The Resources, History, Institutions And Social And Economic Conditions Of The Dominion, Published by Authority of The Honourable James Malcolm, M. P., Minister of Trade and Commerce, (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1928), p. 123. Religious adherence figures on the census tracts numbered about three times the actual Methodist membership.

[31] By 1911 Methodism had been exceeded numerically by Presbyterianism and ten years later by Anglicanism as well, Ibid.

decade which ended in 1901 the number of Methodist adherents increased by 163,107 to a new total of 1,079,993.[32] Methodist growth rate was not unrelated to the fact that this was a period of high religious interest in Canada. Arthur R.M. Lower described the period from about 1880 to 1910 as "the most zealous church-going era in Canadian history."[33] Actual church membership and attendance during this period may not have exceeded that of the post-World War II boom of the 1950's, but other forms of religious expression were more impressive during this earlier period.

The strength of The Methodist Church, 1884-1912, continued to be concentrated in Ontario. Its books and major periodicals were published in Ontario and much of this material was written by Ontario members. Methodism's strongest school, Victoria University, was in Ontario. The largest delegations to the General Conferences were also from that province. At the 1886 General Conference 184 of the 284 delegates were from Ontario.[34] Growth in the West gradually altered this ratio but the Ontario delegation remained the strongest. At the 1906 General Conference the Ontario delegation was still slightly over half of the total delegation, 160 out of 306.[35]

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[32] The Canada Year Book 1927-28, p. 122.

[33] Arthur R.M. Lower, Canadians in The Making, A Social History of Canada, (Don Mills, Ontario: Longmans Canada Limited, 1958), p. 353.

[34] Journal of Proceedings of The Second General Conference of The Methodist Church, Held September 1st to September 23rd, 1886, In The Metropolitan Church, Toronto, (Toronto: William Briggs, 78 & 80 King Street East, 1886), pp. 1ff.

[35] Journal of Proceedings of The Seventh General Conference of The Methodist Church. Held in St. James Church, Montreal, Que. From September 12th to September 27th, 1906, (Toronto: William Briggs, Wesley Buildings, 1906), pp. 1ff.

In 1918, when the delegation from the West reached its peak, the Ontario delegation was still 162 out of the total of 374 or 43 per cent of the total.[36] The West was then represented by the second largest block of delegates, 116.[37] After 1918 the Ontario delegation increased slightly while that from the West remained the same size.[38] The Ontario delegations evinced their strength at the General Conferences by leading the debates on the major issues. The combined effect of these factors was that the life of The Methodist Church was largely shaped by its Ontario constituency.

As the largest protestant denomination in the country, with a strong constituency in the largest and wealthiest province, The Methodist Church adopted an optimistic view of its role in Canada. This optimism was expressed in an essay written by General Superintendent Albert Carman, in 1891, for the centennial of Methodist work in Canada. For Carman, Methodism seemed to have been "especially designed for the American continent."[39] It had, in his view, largely formed the religious mind of both Canada and the United States and had in turn been invigorated by the "spirit of freedom" of these countries.[40] This optimistic view assumed a promising future for The Methodist Church. Roman Catholicism in Canada was about two and

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[36] Journal of Proceedings of The Tenth General Conference of The Methodist Church Held in The First Methodist Church, Hamilton, Ontario, From October 2nd to 17th, 1918, (Toronto: William Briggs, Wesley Buildings, 1918), p. 10.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Journal of Proceedings of The Eleventh General Conference of The Methodist Church Held in The Metropolitan Church, Toronto, Ontario, From September 27th to October 14th, 1922, (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, Wesley Buildings, 1922), p. 14.

[39] Rev. Albert Carman, "The Methodist Church," Centennial, p. 238.

[40] Ibid.

one half times as large as Methodism, but it was numerically weaker outside of Quebec. In the anticipated growth area of Canada, the West, Methodism expected to repeat the success story of its development in Ontario.

By 1884 Canadian Methodism had moved a long way from its evangelical origins. After 1884 its denominational character was reinforced as it continued to develop its institutional life, increased its cooperative activity with the state, and engaged in merger discussion with other denominations. As it concentrated on this internal development and external cooperation The Methodist Church further lost touch with its earlier outlook. In 1912 The Methodist Church declared itself ready to merge with Presbyterians and Congregationalists,[41] actual merger was delayed until 1925 by division of opinion among Presbyterians. Lower has suggested that the Presbyterians swallowed the Methodists in this merger.[42] This suggestion was an exaggeration. After the merger at least one former Presbyterian, Rev. Ralph James Mutchmor, for twenty six years a secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service in the United Church, was mistaken for a Methodist. Mutchmor was described by Robertson Davies, then editor of the Peterborough, Examiner, as "the only old ranting Methodist still in eruption."[43] Yet merger with other denominations did mean that Methodism was becoming less evangelical. "As a former Presbyterian," Mutchmor wrote, "I was at a loss

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[41] John Webster Grant, The Canadian Experience of Church Union, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967), p. 43.

[42] Lower, Canadians, p. 331.

[43] Cited in Mutchmor, The Memoirs of James Ralph Mutchmor, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1965), p. 97.

to know why former Methodists in our Union were not more evangelistic."[44] The Methodist tradition in Canada did not cease to exist in 1912, or in 1925, but readiness to merge with other denominations did reflect the beginning of a different phase in the life of Canadian Methodism.

The thesis of this study is that The Methodist Church, Canada, 1884-1912, was primarily a denomination. Unlike a movement, which concentrates on a special interest, a denomination is comprehensive in its interests. A movement and a denomination each develops ideology and institutions that support its emphasis. The special interest of early Methodism, evangelical reform, had been expressed ideologically by a theological emphasis on religious experience, called perfection. The institutional expression of this reform interest had been educational and worship structures designed to enable members to talk about their faith. In The Methodist Church formed in 1884, evangelical reform had to compete with a number of other interests. Ideologically The Methodist Church gave more attention to questions basic to Christian tradition than to Methodist distinctiveness. Institutionally, the local and portable structures of the Methodist movement were overshadowed by the more centralized, permanent, and complex structures characteristic of a denomination. An aspect of this thesis will be the relation between the denominational emphasis and the weaker but continuing movement emphasis in The Methodist Church. Changes from Methodism's earlier position and new similarities between Methodism and other denominations in Canada will serve an important comparative purpose. An ideal denomination did not exist, but Roman Catholicism followed by Anglicanism were the most denominational bodies. The thesis will be explored through study of one

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[44] Ibid.

significant question then current in each of four areas generally important to the internal development and external relationships of a church. The questions are historical criticism, university federation, the West, and welfare representing the areas of theology, education, mission, and ethics respectively.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM

Canadian Methodism cut its theological teeth on historical criticism. The development of a comprehensive church provided the necessary schools, publications, time, money, and skill for theological discussion. Most of these resources had been unavailable to the itinerant working under frontier conditions. When The Methodist Church was formed the theological issue at hand was historical criticism, a topic of discussion in Europe for a century and now entering Canada through publications and Presbyterian and Methodist professors. Discussion of historical criticism gave theology a larger role in The Methodist Church, 1884-1912, than it was to enjoy afterward. When The Methodist Church prepared to merge with other denominations, theological discussion was limited by a leadership more interested in practical questions, an inclusive attitude toward the traditions of the merging bodies, and the conditions of life in a more secular Canada.

Theological discussion had not been a notable feature of early Methodism. Unlike the Reformation churches which had been born out of theological differences with Roman Catholicism, and secondarily with each other, the Methodist movement basically assumed rather than reformulated Anglican theology. Luther had attacked the sacramental system of Roman Catholicism; Wesley and his followers received the sacraments from the Church of England. The Reformation produced the doctrinal confessions of the

Lutheran and the Calvinist churches; Wesley's basic writings were sermonic and exegetical. Wesley represented a special theological emphasis rather than a special theology. He differed from other Anglicans in his special emphasis on religious experience usually called perfection but also referred to as holiness or entire sanctification. The latter term, entire sanctification, concisely distinguished Methodists from the majority of Christians who thought sanctification was adequate without a qualifying adjective. The meaning of perfection in Wesley's theology has been aptly described by Wellman J. Warner as "a psychological process in which the previously unintegrated life was unified around an object capable of inspiring loyalty."[1] As a special emphasis within an established tradition, Methodist theology required discussion only at the point at which it was distinct.

Theological discussion was probably even more peripheral to the Methodist movement on the frontier than it had been in early Methodism under Wesley. The itinerant travelled a large circuit and lodged with a different family each night. These conditions promoted contact with the people, a Methodist strength, but gave the itinerant little time or encouragement to read and write. John Carroll's description of a service in Kingston about 1805 illustrates the primitive character of the work. Carroll was an itinerant in Upper Canada; the service he described was one conducted by two of his colleagues, Case and Ryan. Case and Ryan would ride into town, put their horses at an inn, then lock their arms and go singing down the street "Come let us march to Zion's hill." By the time they reached the market place they had a congregation. Standing on a

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[1]Wellman J. Warner, The Wesleyan Movement In the Industrial Revolution, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930), p. 69.

butcher's block, Ryan preached and Case exhorted.[2] Exchanges with hecklers sometimes provided additional grass-roots color. The same sermon could last a round of the circuit and be used again on a new circuit the following year. Much of the preaching done in these frontier circumstances likely reflected less theological breadth than that which had taken place under Wesley's supervision.

The low priority given to theological discussion by frontier Methodism was mirrored in the type of schools it established. The first Methodist schools in British North America were literary institutions; though their arts curriculum included some theology, these schools did not offer special courses for candidates for the ministry. In this respect Methodist schools differed from those of the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Presbyterian denominations, a function of which was to train clergy. The Methodist schools did promote an educated clergy by encouraging clerical candidates to take the arts course.[3] This type of school also had the advantage of integrating clergy and laity. But the schools of the Methodist movement, unlike those of the main denominations, failed to treat theology as a discipline that required special training.

Though Methodist theology on the frontier lacked refinement, it retained early Methodism's distinguishing theological mark, the doctrine of

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[2]John Beulah Carroll, Case And His Contemporaries, (Toronto: Samuel Rose, 1867), Volume 1, p. 257, cited by Thomas, Ryerson, p. 25.

[3]C.B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 47. A prior step towards an educated clergy had been taken in 1825, when the Conference arranged to supervise the probationary period for their itinerants, Burwash, "Methodist Education," p. 320. This arrangement included some reading but it should not be equated with formal theological training.

perfection. Ryerson cited with approval Wesley's statement that Methodists were differentiated only from "heathens or nominal Christians; not from any that worship God in spirit and truth."[4] Repeating Wesley, Ryerson described the three main doctrines of Methodism as repentance, faith, and holiness. The first was considered the porch of religion; the second the door; the third religion itself.[5] This particular theological stress was on a change in man, rather than on the nature or activity of God. In its expectations for man, it was a demanding theological emphasis; but it was also hopeful in that it asserted man had the freedom to change.

The first step toward special theological training for Canadian Methodist clergy was taken in 1871, when Victoria added a theological faculty.[6] Though Nathanael Burwash and C.B. Sissons, both Methodists, record this development without comment, it represented an important change in Methodist educational policy. After thirty years as an arts institution, Victoria would now offer theological training for candidates for the ministry. A number of factors may have motivated this change in policy. The first factor was increasing complexity in higher education. In 1854 a faculty of medicine had been added to Victoria and in 1860 a faculty of law.[7] It must have seemed natural then that Victoria should offer training

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[4]John Wesley, "Principles of a Methodist Further Explained," Works, Vol. 5, p. 333, American Edition, cited in Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 75.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Initially, the theological faculty consisted of members of the arts faculty offering additional courses.

[7]Burwash, "Methodist Education," p. 312.

in the other profession of the time, theology. Other probable factors were the challenge of new ideas in arts and science and Methodist desire to offer training in theology as sophisticated as it was offering in other fields. Another factor was surely increasing Methodist strength and unity which provided greater resources for theological study. Whatever the reasons, the provision of theological training at Victoria was a significant departure from the previous educational policy of Canadian Methodism.

In a short period of time theological study in Methodist schools was extended to other parts of Canada. In 1872 an endowment provided for the opening of Wesleyan Theological College in Montreal.[8] During the next twenty years Victoria graduated 350 students in theology and Wesleyan graduated 150.[9] Mt. Allison in Sackville, New Brunswick, an academy from 1843, added theology in 1859 and became a full college in 1862. It was actually the first to teach theology but had only a few theological students.[10] Wesley College in Winnipeg was established in 1888 as part of the newly-founded University of Manitoba. Wesley College offered both theology and arts; two years after it was founded, twenty of its thirty five students were in theology.[11]

Theological clubs called unions served to carry theological discussion beyond the classrooms. These unions were organized in the 1870's to promote continuing education among the clergy. In 1889 they established The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, which printed, along with other material,

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[8]Sissons, Victoria, p. 143.

[9]Burwash, "Methodist Education," p. 323.

[10]Burwash, "Methodist Education," pp. 324-325.

[11]Burwash, "Methodist Education," p. 326.

a number of the papers delivered at theological union meetings. This was the only theological quarterly then in Canada, and after it ceased publication in 1895 another was not established in English-speaking Canada for sixty years.[12] The topics discussed in the quarterly included many on questions raised by historical criticism. In these essays Canadian Methodists were not raising original questions; they were in general discussion in Europe during much of the nineteenth century. The problems of historical criticism, however, like those of the philosophy of history, in some sense have to be answered by each culture and generation. These essays by Canadian Methodists were important as a native response to questions which are enduring but which were particularly relevant to the scholarship of that time. These essays also took Canadian Methodism beyond its earlier movement posture of asserting a special emphasis into a discussion of questions basic to the entire Christian tradition.

The establishment of theological schools and unions did not mean that all of Canadian Methodism was buzzing with theological discussions. The circumstances of the missionary in the West were probably as little conducive to theological enterprise as those of the itinerant in Upper Canada had been fifty years earlier. A portion of the Methodist rank and file in the West were likely among that segment of settlers who had little time or use for books. An instance of actual hostility to literary achievement was recalled by Senator Dan Riley of Alberta from his trip west in 1882. On the train from Winnipeg to Regina he and a fellow passenger agreed to be

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[12] The Canadian Journal of Theology was established in 1955. An inter-denominational bi-monthly, the Canadian Journal of Religious Thought, did exist from 1924 to 1932.

partners. To select a partner was then a common practice for anyone "venturing into the unknown west." When they got off the train at Regina, the end of the steel, Riley produced a box of books he had brought with him from Prince Edward Island. Riley's partner refused to have anything to do with books and they were left at Regina while the partners proceeded on to Calgary by Red River cart.[13] Though arrangements had been made in Regina to have the books follow when the railroad was extended, Riley never saw them again. Not everyone in Canada was enthused about books, much less Methodist theology, but through its schools and union Canadian Methodism did refresh its somewhat bleak constituency with an occasional theological watering place.

Victoria's faculty members tended to go to Germany for graduate study. Methodist schools in the United States and Britain had little to offer.[14]

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[13] The Lethbridge Herald, (11 December 1947), cited in Wilfrid Eggleston, The Frontier & Canadian Letters, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1957), p. 140.

[14] In American Methodism, as in Canadian, literary institutions preceded special theological training. Between 1820 and 1860 thirty four literary schools were established. While one purpose of these schools was to train clergy, a prejudice existed against college training by those who feared men with this training would not be willing to ride circuits, William Warren Sweet, compiler, Religion On The American Frontier, 1783-1840, Volume 4. The Methodists. A Collection of Source Materials, (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1964), pp. 66-68. The first theological training was offered at Newbury Biblical Institute established in Newbury, Vermont in 1839. But this school did not prosper until it was moved to Boston in 1868 and became Boston Theological Seminary. Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois was established in 1855, and others followed in the 1860's and 1870's. As was the case with the literary schools, some opposition existed against the theological schools, and other institutions like The Chicago Training School were established to provide theological courses without college preparation, E.S. Bucke, ed., The History Of American Methodism, (New York: Abingdon, 1964), Volume 1, p. 570, Volume 2, pp. 651-655.

In 1889 four Victoria professors, one third of the faculty, had doctorates from German universities.[15] Arthur P. Coleman, in Natural History and Geology, Andrew J. Bell, in Classics, and Eugene Haanel, in Natural Science, had doctorates from Breslau University. George C. Workman, in Old Testament, had a doctorate from Leipzig University.[16] The undergraduate training of the Victoria faculty was solidly Canadian. In 1900 Victoria had an all-Canadian staff of thirteen, eight of these were Victoria graduates, four were graduates of University College, and the other one was a graduate of Albert College.[17]

Historical criticism[18] provided the occasion for Canadian Methodism's most intensive examination of its theological base. Science gained less theological attention. Evolution was generally accepted by Canadian Methodist leadership by 1889,[19] and the broader implications of scientific

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[15]In addition, Francis H. Wallace, in New Testament, did some graduate work in Germany.

[16]Sissons, Victoria, pp. 191, 192, 145.

[17]Sissons, Victoria, p. 221.

[18]Historical criticism here means the historical study of the Bible. Technically a distinction can be made between historical criticism and literary criticism. When this is done, historical criticism refers to external questions such as date, authorship, purpose of the writing, and historical context in which the document appeared. Literary criticism then refers to internal questions such as type of literature, literary units, and strands of tradition within a document. In this thesis historical criticism and literary criticism stand together against dogmatism. For this reason the term historical criticism had been broadened to include literary criticism.

[19]"Editorial Note," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 1, (July 1889), p. 309.

advance were not posed in a challenging way.[20] Inadequate discussion of science was unfortunate in view of its growing importance, apparent in the general acceptance of its theories and its increasing share of university curriculum.[21] In the discussion of historical criticism tension existed between those who accepted it and those who did not. The effect of this tension on the denominational comprehensiveness of The Methodist Church will be of particular interest to this chapter. The effect of The Methodist Church's discussion of historical criticism on the continuing movement emphasis on perfection will also be of interest.

Historical criticism began in the eighteenth century, mainly in Germany. Johann Albrecht Bengel, of the seminary in Denkendorf, was the first to group the New Testament documents into families. His commentary on the New Testament, Gnomen, (1742), was used by Wesley. Another German, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, of Göttingen University, was one of the first to compare the Old Testament with other ancient writings.

Ideas suggested in the eighteenth century were developed and spread

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[20]Some of the discussion was in response to an essay by Goldwin Smith who raised the science question from a literalist point of view, Goldwin Smith, "The Church in The Old Testament," in his Guesses At The Riddle of Existence And Other Essays On Kindred Subjects, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896), pp. 47-96. George Coulson Workman responded to Smith's essay with a book, The Old Testament Vindicated as Christianity's Foundation-Stone, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897).

[21]In Britain, a generation earlier, science as a theological issue had also been second in importance to historical criticism. Here theological discussion of Charles Darwin's The Origin Of Species (1859) was overshadowed by the controversy that followed the publication of Essays And Reviews (1860), a book of essays written to explain historical criticism to a wider audience, Alan Richardson, The Bible In The Age Of Science, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1961), pp. 60-61.

in the nineteenth century. From the 1830's, Ferdinand Christian Baur, of Tübingen University, dated the New Testament books according to where they fit into Hegel's dialectical idea of historical development. A generation later, Julius Wellhauesen, of the University of Halle, reconstructed the Old Testament in terms of the development of ideas. In Britain and in the United States historical criticism developed in partial dependence on work done in Germany. The importance of the subject by the later part of the nineteenth century is attested by the inclusion of numerous essays on historical criticism in the ninth edition of The Encyclopaedia Britannica, published during the 1870's and 1880's. One essay, by W. Robertson Smith of Free Church College, Aberdeen, described the growth of religious ideas in the Old Testament.[22] Another essay, by Wellhauesen, described the earlier Old Testament books as a compilation of several sources.[23]

Historical criticism entered Canada, during the 1870's, through publications and through students who did graduate work in Germany, Britain, or the United States.[24] The churches most involved in historical criticism in Canada were Methodism, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism. Significantly, these churches were also more venturesome in other respects: They were the most independent from their parent churches; and they later merged

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[22]Rev. W. Robertson Smith, "Bible," The Encyclopaedia Britannica. A Dictionary Of Arts, Sciences, And General Literature, Ninth Edition, Volume 3, (1876), pp. 548-561.

[23]Julius Wellhauesen, "Pentateuch and Joshua," Britannica, Volume 18, (1885), pp. 515-525.

[24]By 1880 articles in Methodist periodicals in Canada reflected the use of historical criticism, Rev. Nathanael Burwash, "The Authorship of The Fourth Gospel," The Canadian Methodist Magazine, Volume 12, (November 1880), pp. 469-470.

to form the United Church of Canada. The two large churches most dependent on an European parent, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, were more slowly influenced by historical criticism. Dependence on an European parent meant that these churches tended to receive their theology secondhand. Canadian Baptists were quite aware of historical criticism but, until a later date, most of them were unsympathetic to it.[25] Canadian Baptist opposition to historical criticism was probably reinforced by contacts with their fellows in the United States, where Baptists and Presbyterians provided the backbone for the fundamentalism that developed in opposition to critical theology during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[26]

Of the two large churches in Canada most involved in historical criticism, Presbyterianism institutionally faced the problem first. In 1894, two instances came before Presbyterian assemblies; both were settled by compromise. The first instance concerned control over theological training at Queen's University. In 1891, Rev. George Munro Grant, principal of Queen's and professor of theology, lectured in support of historical criticism.[27] Opponents of historical criticism sought to make theology at Queen's more traditional by bringing the department under the control of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, as were the Presbyterian theological schools in Toronto, Montreal, and Winnipeg. A motion to effect

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[25]J.H. Farmer, "The Relation of McMaster University to the Theological Trend of the Age," The McMaster University Monthly, (November 1896), pp. 53-57.

[26]Olmstead, Religion, p. 474.

[27]William Lawson Grant and Frederick Hamilton, Principal Grant, (Toronto: Morang and Co., 1904), p. 485.

this move was defeated at the 1892 General Assembly.[28] But a more tolerant motion was passed; it stated "the desirableness of bringing the Theological Faculty of the University into closer relation to the Church.[29] Two years later a compromise solution was adopted which provided that the theological professors be appointed by the trustees subject to veto by the General Assembly.[30] The second instance concerned the teaching of Professor John Campbell of Montreal. In 1893, Campbell presented a lecture at Queen's entitled The Perfect Father or The Perfect Book. This lecture contained a moderate use of historical criticism; Old Testament passages which presented God as vengeful were described as imperfectly inspired.[31] Campbell was charged with discrediting the scriptures and, the following year, his case came before the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa. He was cleared by signing a compromise statement which said Old Testament statements about the character of God were true but were not the whole truth.[32] In recounting these instances, John McNeill observed that heresy trials had not occurred since in Canadian Presbyterianism but men suspected of heresy would have welcomed a trial which never came.[33] McNeill's comment reflects the assumption that

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[28]The Acts And Proceedings of The Eighteenth General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church In Canada, (1892), pp. 25, 36.

[29]Proceedings, Presbyterian Church, (1892), p. 36.

[30]The Acts And Proceedings Of The Twentieth General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church In Canada, (1894), Appendix 7, p. 25.

[31]John Thomas McNeill, The Presbyterian Church In Canada, 1875-1925, (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925), p. 208.

[32]McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 209.

[33]Ibid.

denominations tend to be comprehensive rather than exclusive in their theological decisions.

Presbyterians faced the problem of historical criticism earlier, but Methodist discussion of it was more extensive. Since newer ideas can scarcely spread without discussion, more extensive discussion probably resulted in wider acquaintance with historical criticism within Canadian Methodism. One reason for more discussion of historical criticism by Canadian Methodists may have been their lack of an established theological tradition. Methodists depended more directly on the Bible than did Presbyterians, who had a lengthy confessional statement in addition to the Bible. Another reason may have been the particular interests of leading Presbyterians in Canada at that time. Grant wrote more about politics than about theology. Another leading Presbyterian, the scholarly William Caven, principal of Knox College, Toronto, wrote on doctrinal subjects. One Presbyterian who did write about historical criticism, Professor Andrew Baird of Manitoba College, rejected it.

Historical criticism became a problem in Canadian Methodism following a lecture entitled Messianic Prophecy by George Coulson Workman.[34] A contribution to the study of Messianic prophecy, the lecture, by its choice of subject, was particularly illustrative of the implications of historical criticism. Old Testament statements that dogmatic theology had taken to refer to Jesus Christ were taken by historical criticism to refer to persons contemporary with the date of writing. What had been the precinct of a few professors and students within Canadian Methodism became, with

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[34]George Coulson Workman, "Messianic Prophecy," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 2, (October 1890), pp. 407-478.

this lecture, a subject of debate in periodicals and at conferences.

Workman was born in Ontario and educated at Victoria, where he received a B.A. in 1875 and a M.A. three years later. After four years of parish experience he was appointed to the faculty at Victoria in 1882. Two years later he was promoted to Professor of Old Testament. To qualify himself for this position, Workman spent five years at Leipzig University, Germany, where he earned a Ph.D.

The lecture was given to the Theological Union of Victoria on May 12, 1890, shortly after Workman's return from Germany. Criticism from those who used the dogmatic approach to the Bible followed immediately. By his own account, Workman was able to give the lecture before the Toronto Conference that summer "only in the face of frequent interruption."[35]

The controversy that followed the lecture was indicative of the broad spectrum of theological opinion that then existed within The Methodist Church. Lack of an established theological tradition and changing scholarship combined to promote greater variety of opinion at this time. Critical theology predominated at Victoria while that which appeared in The Christian Guardian was primarily dogmatic. The theology taught at Wesleyan Theological Seminary, Wesley College, and much of that in papers read to the theological unions was moderately critical. The degree of theological training attained by the individual was probably a determining factor in his position on historical criticism. Of the four men most involved in the historical criticism discussion, the two with theological

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[35]George Coulson Workman, Messianic Prophecy Vindicated; or An Explanation And Defence of The Ethical Theory, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1899), p. 12. This volume contains a complete chronology of the argument and a commentary on it from Workman's point of view.

training, Workman and Nathanael Burwash, supported critical theology. Conversely, the two without special theological training, Carman and Edward H. Dewart, supported dogmatic theology.

Controversy surrounded Workman until he resigned from Victoria early in 1892. The Board of Regents, whose members included Burwash and Dewart, men from both sides of the question, had attempted to ease the controversy by transferring Workman from theology to arts. This transfer removed Workman from direct teaching contact with theological students but permitted him to continue teaching the same material to arts students. Workman and others had been teaching in both faculties. Unwilling to accept this compromise, Workman resigned in protest.

The question that became contentious in Workman's lecture was prediction and fulfilment in prophecy. Historical criticism replaced the esoteric in prophecy with insight. In Workman's words, "instead of specially revealing the hidden events of the future, it specially declares the concealed facts of the present."[36] In these terms, a prophet was not a man with special knowledge about the future but a man who was perceptive about the present.

By Messianic prophecy Workman meant the Jewish "hope or expectation of a great deliverer" whose coming would bring a "reign of truth and righteousness" and a "period of peace and plenty."[37] The prophets had expected a contemporary person to fulfil their hope. But the principles of this hope were capable of broader application and found their richest embodiment in Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ was, wrote Workman, "the realized rather than

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[36]Workman, "Messianic Prophecy," p. 416.

[37]Workman, "Messianic Prophecy," p. 411.

the predicted Christ of the Old Testament."[38] Workman's basic insight that Jesus embodied the hopes of the prophets rather than fulfilled specific predictions about himself became generally accepted by critical theology. But Workman's explication of this insight tended toward Platonism, a tendency that reduced the ethical impact of the gospel.

Criticism of Workman's lecture was extensive. A moderately critical seven issue series of articles appeared in the Methodist Quarterly beginning in January, 1891. The series was prepared by J.M. Hirschfelder, retired professor from the University of Toronto, "at the request of some Methodist clergymen."[39] In January, 1891, Workman's views were also criticised in an editorial in the Methodist Magazine, written by the dogmatic editor William H. Winthrow. The April, 1891 issue of this publication carried a courteous criticism of Workman's position written by William Caven of Knox.

The most serious criticism of Workman's approach came from the pen of Dewart, for twenty years editor of The Christian Guardian by appointment of the General Conference, and defender of traditional dogma by his own initiative. Within a year Dewart had responded with editorials in the Guardian, an essay in the Methodist Quarterly, and the publication of a book intended to refute Workman's "negative theory."[40] Dewart also took a firm stand against Workman through his membership on Victoria's board.

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[38] Workman, "Messianic Prophecy," p. 471.

[39] J.M. Hirschfelder, "Messianic Prophecy," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 3, (January 1891), p. 1.

[40] E.H. Dewart, Jesus The Messiah in Prophecy and Fulfilment. A Review and Refutation of The Negative Theory of Messianic Prophecy, (Toronto: William Briggs, Wesley Buildings, 1891), p. v.

Having heard there would be an attempt to reinstate Workman at the next board meeting, Dewart stated in a January, 1892 letter to Carman that he was prepared to speak against such action at the meeting. In part the letter read, "Burwash I hear accepts his explanations" and "Burus and Johnston will defend him. The case is serious."[41] Rev. H. Johnston was pastor of Trinity Methodist Church on Bloor Street in Toronto. In Dewart's judgment the situation was indeed serious. He concluded this letter with a dramatic touch by quoting Luther's historic words at the Diet of Worms, "Here I stand, I can do no other. God help me, amen."[42]

Dewart was born in Ireland in 1826 but came to Peterborough, Ontario at age six. He attended the Provincial Normal School, Toronto and became a teacher. He was ordained in 1855. A promoter of all Methodist causes, Dewart was a member of the Ecumenical Methodist Conference in London in 1881 and of the one in Washington in 1891. A tower of strength for dogmatic theology, Dewart's dogmatism in theology carried over into polity questions, where he was an immovable advocate of university federation.

Arguing on dogmatic grounds, Dewart wrote that the announcement of a lecture on Messianic prophecy suggested the idea of Old Testament predictions of the coming Messiah and the idea of fulfilment of these preductions in the events of the life and death of Jesus Christ. Not finding either of these ideas in Workman's lecture, Dewart objected that Workman had taken away both "the evidence for the Messiahship of Christ and the divine

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[41] E.H. Dewart, Letter to Carman, January 1, 1892, Carman Papers, Box 5, General Correspondence, 1892.

[42] Ibid.

inspiration of the prophets."[43] In refutation of Workman, Dewart argued for a correspondence between Old Testament predictions and events recorded in the New Testament. This correspondence was, he wrote, "so clear and striking that it convinced many Jews of the apostolic age . . . that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ."[44]

Dewart's argument suffered from the ex post facto problem. The apostles interpreted prophecy from the perspective of fulfilment. The apostles' application of Old Testament prophecy to Jesus does not mean that the Old Testament prophets had the incidents of the life of Jesus in mind and were making predictions about him when they wrote. This application means only that the hope of the prophets for a deliverer, unfulfilled in their own time, found a theological fulfilment in Jesus Christ.

Support for Workman and the historical approach to the Bible came from Mathanael Burwash. Burwash favorably reviewed Workman's doctoral dissertation on the Old Testament book of Jeremiah; he also praised Workman's scholarship in the classroom.[45] Moreover, Burwash's own work was based on the historical approach. An essay on Isaiah 52-53, a Messianic text, will serve as an example. This essay began with a search for literary and thought parallels, on the basis of which the text was assigned to

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[43]E.H. Dewart, "A Brief Examination of Professor Workman's Teaching and Methods," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 3, (January 1891), p. 81.

[44]Ibid. The term Christ is a transliteration of the Greek word for the Hebrew term Messiah.

[45]N. Burwash, "Chancellor's Address At Convocation," Acta Victoriana, Volume 13, (May 1890), p. 6.

an historical period.[46]

Burwash was born near St. Andrews, Quebec in 1839. He graduated from Victoria with a B.A. in 1859 and a M.A. in 1867. Burwash studied briefly at Yale University in 1866-67. He also studied at Garrett Biblical Institute, where he received a B.D. in 1871 and a S.T.D. in 1876. Burwash taught natural science at Victoria from 1867 until 1873, when he became the first full time professor of theology. His proficiency in both fields helped to bridge the gap between science and theology in Canadian Methodism. Maurice Hutton, classicist and principal of University College, spoke appreciatively of Burwash's ability to integrate the various branches of learning: "Theology, the humanities, and science too, went hand in hand for him."[47] Burwash was secretary of the Educational Society of The Methodist Church, and in 1887 became president of Victoria.

Burwash's most pointed argument for historical criticism came in a letter in support of Workman. In the letter, Burwash asserted that the historical approach was "now recognized as the only legitimate method by universal modern scholarship."[48] In addition, Burwash credited Wesley with supporting critical scholarship in his day "when textual criticism and historico-grammatical interpretation were beginning to win the victory over

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[46]Nathanael Burwash, "Isaiah lii. 13: liii. 12," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 4, (April 1892), pp. 145-152.

[47]Cited in Rev. Dr. A. Lloyd Smith, "Victoria and a Century of Education," On the Old Ontario Strand. Victoria's Hundred Years. Addresses at the Centenary of Victoria University and The Burwash Memorial Lectures of the Centennial Year, (Toronto: Victoria University, 1936), p. 135.

[48]Nathanael Burwash, "To The Committee of The Bay of Quinte Conference re. Teaching of The Rev. Dr. Workman," January 31, 1899, printed in Workman, Messianic Prophecy Vindicated, p. 75.

false views imposed by the dictation theory of inspiration."[49] Wesley's Notes On The New Testament was cited as reflecting the critical scholarship of its time. Those who did not accept historical criticism were discounted by Burwash as the "prejudiced opposition."

Historical criticism made a significant contribution to an understanding of the Bible. As Workman and Burwash realized, the historical approach provided the interpreter with a richer understanding of the variety of literature in the Bible, an awareness of the historical context out of which each document came, and an appreciation for the particular thought of the individual writers of the texts. The use of historical criticism made the Bible practically a new book, more varied and more human than the one available through a dogmatic approach.

Dogmatists within Canadian Methodism rejected historical criticism as negative and uncertain in its results in contrast to what they considered the certainty of their approach. A dogmatic approach to the Bible could either be made through a confession, which defined how the Bible was to be interpreted, or through some doctrine, which described the character of the Bible. As Methodist confessions were not themselves dogmatic in character, Methodists who used the dogmatic approach to the Bible usually did so on the basis of the doctrine of inspiration. Methodism did not officially have a doctrine of inspiration either but some Methodists adopted the various ideas of inspiration that had developed in some denominations after the sixteenth century Reformation.

One Canadian Methodist who emphasized the doctrine of inspiration was

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[49] Ibid.

Albert Carman. Carman was born in 1833 at Iroquois, Ontario. He was educated at Victoria where he received a B.A. in 1855 and a M.A. in 1860. Like Dewart, Carman taught school for a few years. In 1858 he became principal of Belleville Seminary, later called Albert College. He was ordained in 1863. When the Methodist bodies in Canada merged in 1884, Carman was elected General Superintendent, the highest office of The Methodist Church. He held this office until his retirement in 1914.[50] Carman was more interested in world Methodism than in cooperation with other denominations in Canada. In his address to the 1898 General Conference, Carman casually reported that the standing committee on church union had not had occasion to meet during the past quadrennium then went on to urge Canadian participation in the third Ecumenical Methodist Conference being planned for 1901 in London, England. These assemblies were described as "the rallying and training days of the grand army."[51]

In this same address to the 1898 General Conference, Carman pitted the doctrine of inspiration against historical criticism. The offenders were defined as those who would say "the divine power, wisdom and glory are all mixed up and filled in with human ignorance and weakness."[52] If this were admitted, the process would be easy, wrote Carman, "to slip out one block after another till there is neither wall nor foundation, rampart nor tower,

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[50]The office was co-chaired during the first and the latter part of this time.

[51]Albert Carman, "The General Superintendent's Official Address," to The Fifth General Conference of The Methodist Church, Held in The Metropolitan Church, Toronto, September 1, 1898, lengthy excerpt printed in The Christian Guardian, (7 September 1898), p. 5.

[52]Carman, "Official Address," 1898, p. 4.

and they call this learning, and despise better men."[53] This typical dogmatist argument reasoned, unless the Bible is perfect, untainted by human fallibility, it might turn out to be worthless. Concerning the offending advocates of historical criticism, Carman asserted: "We want not their odor in our institutions, their echoes in our halls, nor their shadows in our assemblies."[54]

Carman explained his idea of inspiration by an analogy of a Head of State communicating messages through a secretary. In Carman's view, Wellington was able by means of a secretary to "give his exact thought" to Napoleon "without obscuring the dispatch or tangling it up with an under secretary's conceptions or imaginations." Moreover a Head of State "might set one under secretary to check or confirm another."[55] By analogy Carman argued that God was able to communicate as well as men do and that God's secretaries confirmed one another. Carman's explanation failed to recognize that a dispatch conveyed by a secretary does not convey the literal words of a Head of State. Though the thought of a Head of State may be communicated by a secretary, the message is stated in the words of the secretary and reflects the secretary's own thought as well as that of the Head of State. To receive a message from a third party is not the same as receiving the message direct from the sender. The historical approach to the Bible rests on evidence that each "secretary" has left his own individual stamp on the message. Literary and thought differences in the

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[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

creation accounts of Genesis 1 and 2, for instance, suggest the work not of one mind but of two.

Essays by Canadian Methodists on the doctrine of inspiration and its relation to historical criticism reflected a variety of theological positions. The position of Rev. James Graham on inspiration and historical criticism was similar to that expressed by Carman. Graham exercised his wit by suggesting to historical critics the utility of an edition of the Bible in which the part of it not inspired was printed in larger type than the part that was inspired. Such an edition would, he wrote, "be some convenience to the common crowd," who could not otherwise discern the difference.[56]

A moderate but still dogmatic stance was taken by William I. Shaw. Shaw was born at Kingston, Ontario in 1841. He received a B.A. from Victoria in 1861 and a M.A. in 1864. Shaw studied first for the legal profession but then was ordained in 1868. In 1877 he was appointed professor of Greek at Wesleyan in Montreal, where he became principal in 1894. Shaw's position is representative of the fact that theology at Wesleyan was more dogmatic than theology at Victoria. In an attempt to maintain that the Bible contained a human element but was at the same time infallible, Shaw wrote his own version of the analogy of the message sent through a secretary. In this version, a minister of the crown formulated the message under the direction of the king. This was the resulting formulation, as Shaw described it: "The message is now the exact message of the king in every word, and at the same time it reflects the intellectual cast and

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[56]Rev. James Graham, "Inspiration of The Biblical Writers," 2, The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 1, (October 1889), p. 379.

literary style of the writer."[57] In this analogy Shaw failed in his intention to make room for a human element. If the words of the message are those of the king there is nothing left to attribute to the minister of the crown.

The most adequate treatments of the relationship between inspiration and historical criticism were those in which the writers checked their dogmatic assumptions enough to permit them to take a new look at the nature of the Biblical documents. Rev. Thomas Voaden did so when he observed that the Bible was "not a precise and formal dissertation" like a church confession, a legal document, or a scientific essay. Rather most of its teaching was presented in the form of parables or narratives which left room for interpretation but which could be understood by those who read them sympathetically.[58] In Voaden's approach dogma was restricted to an openness on the part of the reader to the content of the document, a reasonable requirement for understanding any document.

W.T. Davison used an approach similar to that used by Voaden. Davison was a British Methodist but his essay was printed in the Canadian Methodist Quarterly. His approach was to begin with a study of the Bible and "the fact that it contains the records of the revelation of the Living God."[59]

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[57]William I. Shaw, "Inspiration of Bible Writers," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 1, (April 1889), p. 134. Prior to publication, this paper had been read before the Methodist clergy in Montreal.

[58]Rev. Thomas Voaden, "Reasons for The Parabolic Method of Teaching in The Scriptures," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 3, (April 1891), p. 152.

[59]W.T. Davison, "Inspiration and Biblical Criticism," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 3, (July 1891), p. 274.

Davison's approach was dogmatic in that he began not only with the Bible but also with a statement describing its contents. But Davison's approach was also historical in the questions it raised about the Biblical documents: the size of the canon, the various kinds of literature contained in the canon, and the age and authorship of the various books. Ironically, the effect of Davison's conclusion was that a doctrine of inspiration was not necessary. Jesus Christ, upon whom the Christian faith depends, could be reached only through the Bible but one could do this, wrote Davison, "without any elaborate theory as to what Scripture as a whole is."[60] In Davison's view, the book of Mark and the four unquestioned letters of Paul were enough to provide an adequate knowledge of Jesus Christ.

In the discussion of historical criticism, some Methodists came to recognize the changeable character of dogma. By describing the variety of literature and theology in the Bible, historical criticism qualified the dogmas based on this literature. The dogmatic approach could not be distinguished from the historical approach by the certainty of its results. The dogmatist characterization of historical criticism as negative in its results was partially valid, but this was due to the stance taken by some historical critics rather than a weakness in the historical approach. Workman's essay provided a definition of Messianic prophecy but, considering it was ninety pages long, did not go very far in developing the implications of this definition. This weakness has been imitated by not a few historical critics. The dogmatist characterization of historical criticism as negative also depended in part on an inflated opinion of the certainty

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[60]Davison, "Inspiration and Criticism," p. 279.

that could be attained by the dogmatic approach. The results of dogmatism were no less subject to the changing opinion and methods of scholarship than were the results of historical criticism. Though changeable, dogma still played a role in formulating the tradition. Even historical critics approached the Bible with some dogmatic assumptions concerning its contents.

For the most part The Methodist Church handled the problem of historical criticism with the tolerance implicit in comprehensiveness. If Workman eased the problem at Victoria by his resignation, Burwash engaged in critical scholarship without interference. Workman's replacement at Victoria, John F. McLaughlin was also a critical scholar. McLaughlin began his work at Victoria, as had Burwash, as a teacher of science. In 1892 he began work in Old Testament exegesis and also taught a Sunday afternoon Bible class to laymen. McLaughlin's students later taught theology in four of the six Canadian Methodist colleges. In his essay on education at Victoria, A.L. Smith credited Burwash and McLaughlin with enabling Methodist clergy and students to accept critical scholarship without loss of faith.[61]

A degree of intolerance was operative in the Workman case. Victoria's board attempted to solve the question by compromise rather than tolerance. Moreover dogmatists implied that Workman's teaching was unacceptable without actually bringing charges against him. But his case was not unmixed. By resigning from his position of influence, Workman largely eliminated himself as a threat to dogmatists and as a result removed the urgency of bringing the matter to a conclusion. His clerical status was technically unimpaired but he was unemployed. For the next twelve years he supported

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[61]Smith, "Victoria, and Education," pp. 135, 139.

himself by pulpit supply and by writing. Though opposition to Workman's theology contributed to his continuing unemployment, part of the difficulty also lay with Workman's insistence on a post within Canadian Methodism where he could use his special training. One of the few posts in Canadian Methodism that met this requirement was the one from which he had resigned. Had he been available for other work in The Methodist Church or for a teaching post in a non-Methodist school his employment prospects would presumably have been much improved. In 1904 Workman gained a position at Wesleyan in Montreal, but due to a recurrence of the problem the board failed to renew his contract beyond 1908. In this instance Workman suffered an injustice. In effect he was dismissed for unsound teaching without having been examined by the conference; the board acted within its authority but independently of the means of discipline provided by The Methodist Church. Workman was still a Methodist and still ordained but without the post he desired.

The Methodist Church did not have occasion to make an institutional decision on historical criticism until 1910, when complaints over the teaching of Rev. George Jackson came before the General Conference. A British Methodist employed by Canadian Methodism, Jackson popularized the results of historical criticism in his pastorate at Sherbourne Street Methodist Church in Toronto. The Jackson problem arose not within his congregation but outside of it, when lectures previously given in his congregation were repeated at the Toronto Y. M. C. A. As might have been expected, the Toronto public was less able than Jackson's congregation to accept historical criticism. The problem grew when Jackson lectured in the United States and Methodists there communicated their objections to dogmatists in

Canadian Methodism. With the establishment of a committee by the General Conference to test Jackson's teaching, the case came to a tolerant conclusion. The committee was unable to proceed for lack of anyone to formulate charges against Jackson.[62] Jackson had meanwhile been employed by Victoria to teach English Bible. This time the board remained firm in support of its faculty member and Jackson taught there until his return to England in 1912. After 1910 no one "tried seriously" to interfere with theological teaching at Victoria.[63]

The wide variety of theological opinion exhibited by the historical criticism discussion was contained within the comprehensiveness of The Methodist Church. The absence of a confessional statement may have enhanced this comprehensiveness. In the absence of such a statement it was difficult to show that a view was theologically unacceptable. More importantly Canadian Methodists tended to be theologically inclusive. When Rev. James S. Woodsworth sought to resign from the Methodist ministry in 1907 because of doctrinal reservations, a committee of the Manitoba Conference persuaded him that his theology was "in harmony with Methodist doctrine."[64] The ability of The Methodist Church to encompass a variety of theological opinion was an illustration of its denominational character.

Theological discussion in The Methodist Church revealed common tradition as well as difference of opinion. The traditional Methodist emphasis

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[62]For documentation of the Jackson controversy see Margaret E. Prang, "The Political Career of N.W. Rowell," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (1959), copy in Simon Fraser University library, pp. 115-141.

[63]Sissons, Victoria, p. 239.

[64]Kenneth McNaught, A Prophet In Politics. A Biography of J.S. Woodsworth, (Toronto: University Press, 1959), p. 32.

on perfection was the common theological ground shared by Methodists. "Methodism was born," wrote Rev. T.W. Hall of Kamloops, British Columbia, "when Wesley was born again. The doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit . . . may be said to constitute the first of our articles of religion."[65] This emphasis on religious experience acted as a unifying force within Canadian Methodism; neither the most convinced historical critic nor the most ardent dogmatist would have disagreed with Hall's statement. The discussion occasioned by historical criticism increased Canadian Methodism's awareness of its tradition as a movement.

Wesley had been influenced by communities that stressed the need for personal religious experience. Fascinated by what he heard about Moravian communities in Germany, based on a shared religious experience, he visited these communities in 1738. For a week at Marienborn, a community near Frankfurt, Wesley spent his days conversing with those who could speak either Latin or English. Wesley's journal entry for July 6 indicated his satisfaction with what he found at Marienborn. "And here I continually met with what I sought for," wrote Wesley, "viz. living proofs of the power of faith."[66] The marks of this faith were personal reform and confidence.[67] Though Wesley left these communities for a wider and more worldly field, an

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[65]Rev. T.W. Hall, "Points of Comparison of Methodist Theology with The Theology of Other Churches," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 4, (July 1892), p. 361.

[66]Nehemiah Curnock (ed.), The Journal of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M. Enlarged From Original Mss. with Notes from Unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps, and Illustrations, Volume 2, (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1909), p. 13.

[67]Ibid.

emphasis on religious experience remained a part of Methodism.

Canadian Methodists who used the historical approach to the Bible affirmed this emphasis on the Christian life in their theology. Burwash, who dated his acquaintance with problems raised by historical criticism from 1860, met intellectual difficulties "in the quiet of closet communion" with God.[68] Recognizing that most men had less time to ponder intellectual problems than he did, Burwash concluded that religious experience, "rather than rational, scientific, or historical investigation," must be the basis of faith for most men.[69] The importance of religious experience in Burwash's theology led him to assert that faith could flourish in the face of theological disturbance. He cited historical precedents to the intellectual changes of his own time. "Christianity itself," Burwash wrote, "was a terrible subversion of the old Jewish theology, but it was life from the dead so far as religion was concerned."[70] He similarly credited the Reformation and Wesley with overturning medieval dogmatism and Calvinist dogmatism respectively. Despite the theological problems of his day, Burwash described religious life as advancing with "increasing spiritual power and to richer practical results."[71]

This emphasis on religious experience or perfection was evident in

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[68]Nathanael Burwash, Manual Of Christian Theology On The Inductive Method, Volume 1, (London: Horace Harshall and Son, 1900), pp. v-vi.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Nathanael Burwash, "Introduction," April, 1897, Workman, The Old Testament Vindicated, p. 12.

[71]Ibid.

dogmatists as well as historical critics. Carman's distinction between Methodism and other denominations was that Methodism "emphasized the spiritual, personal and experimental doctrines."[72] These doctrines were the ones that were concerned with personal faith. Rev. Joseph W. Sparling also affirmed this emphasis on perfection. Sparling was born near St. Mary's, Ontario in 1843. He graduated from Victoria with a B.A. in 1871 and a M.A. in 1874. In 1888 he became the first principal of Wesley College, Winnipeg. Though Sparling considered works like Paley's Evidences Of Christianity to be "unanswerable," he thought they lacked the power to effect change in men. He noted that such works had been in existence in eighteenth century England but lives were not changed until Wesley and his followers "made their appeal to the innermost being of men" by preaching the gospel.[73]

Methodist emphasis on perfection resulted in a theology distinguished by two characteristics. The first characteristic was a call to individual responsibility and freedom of choice. When Methodism called men to spiritual life it asserted that God intended this life for everyone and that all men had it within their power to respond. Failure to respond was attributed to disobedience. The call to individual responsibility and freedom of choice was the most obvious point at which Methodist theology was formulated in opposition to that of other denominations. While Wesley felt sufficiently at home in the Anglican church to retain his ordination status there, he

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[72]Carman, "The Methodist Church," p. 245.

[73]Rev. J.W. Sparling, "A Trinity of Testimony," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 2, (July 1890), p. 308. A similar confidence in this emphasis was expressed by Shaw when he asserted: "Spiritual life is better than a correct creed," Rev. W.I. Shaw, "Liberalism in Theology -- Its History, Tendencies and Lessons," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 5, (April 1893), p. 170.

deleted from the Anglican liturgy references that weakened man's responsibility and freedom. In the service for infant baptism, he deleted references to regeneration by baptism.[74] These references drew attention to God's action in baptism, rather than man's choice. By retaining infant baptism but reducing its significance, Wesley took a position halfway between that of the main denominations and the Baptist and other churches who held to adult or believers baptism. Wesley also preached against the Calvinist doctrine of predestination or election, which limited man's freedom and responsibility. In a sermon titled Free Grace, he argued that predestination made preaching vain because it was unnecessary to those already elected and useless to those not elected.[75]

In support of the doctrine of individual responsibility and freedom of choice, T.W. Hall appealed to intuition and to the Bible. Hall claimed that men recognize the "ever-present element of responsibility" and that this implied freedom of choice.[76] In support of this doctrine he also appealed to Biblical texts which placed a choice before men: "Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God, and not that he should return from his ways and live?"[77]

The factor that Arthur R.M. Lower, born in 1889, remembered about the Ontario Methodism of his youth was this call to responsibility and

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[74]D.G. Sutherland, "The Methodist Liturgy," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, Volume 3, (January 1891), p. 49.

[75]John Wesley, "Free Grace," sermon preached at Bristol in 1740, Sermons On Several Occasions: By The Rev. John Wesley, M.A., with a Life of The Author, ed. by Rev. John Beecham, (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 2, Castle-St., City-Road), p. 359.

[76]Hall, "Points of Comparison," p. 369.

[77]Hall, "Points of Comparison," p. 370.

freedom. "Here was something dynamic that got hold of a young fellow in a dozen different ways," wrote Lower, "and, if it did not make it entirely clear how the world was to be transformed, it at least made it plain that transformed it ought to be."[78] This accent made it clear to the individual that his own money and efforts were needed to help effect the transformation.

The second characteristic of Methodist theology that resulted from emphasis on perfection was confessional freedom. Unlike most of the large denominations, Methodism did not develop a body of defined doctrine. The Methodist confessional standard was limited to a type of preaching. Their preaching standard was that found in Wesley's Fifty Two Sermons and his Notes On The New Testament, works that were adhered to not in a literal way but as a norm. In the introduction to his edition of Wesley's sermons, Burwash described the freedom and obligation of Methodists in relation to this preaching standard. Methodists were not bound to agree with the "accidental and personal" things in Wesley's Notes and Sermons. "But Methodism demands," Burwash wrote, "that in all our pulpits we should preach this gospel and expound the Word of God according to this analogy of faith."[79] A precedent for this type of confessional standard was found in Paul's references in his letters to a preached gospel.[80] Later church

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[78]Arthur R.M. Lower, My First Seventy-Five Years, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), p. 8.

[79]Nathanael Burwash (ed.), Wesley's Doctrinal Standards. Part I. The Sermons, With Introductions, Analysis, And Notes, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1909), p. xvii.

[80]Burwash, Wesley's Doctrinal Standards, p. ix, the reference cited from Paul was Galations 1:6.

polemics had hardened this preaching standard into dogmatic confessional statements.

The meaning of perfection in The Methodist Church was, however, less emotional and more reflective than it had been on the early Canadian frontier. This change in meaning was apparent in the loss of some members to the Holiness Movement Church. The leader of this movement was Ralph Horner who had been converted in 1872 at a Methodist camp-meeting near his home in Shawville, Quebec. Horner subsequently tried to promote this type of experience at Victoria where he was a student. "It was," he wrote, "a great trial to college professors to have me look them in the eyes and ask them if they had the experience of entire sanctification."[81] These professors probably attached as much importance to "inner religion" as Wesley had,[82] but were less emotional about it than persons who were sympathetic to camp-meetings. Horner refused to accept a circuit from the Montreal Conference and designed his own evangelistic tours. In 1895 the Conference deposed him for the emotionalism that accompanied his meetings. Horner organized his followers into the Holiness Movement Church, but the movement was soon disrupted over different interpretations of sanctification. Frontier Canadian Methodism had included persons who participated in camp-meetings that involved emotional outbursts,[83] and revival meetings had been held at Victoria

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[81] A.E. Horner (ed.), Ralph C. Horner, Evangelist, Reminiscences from His Own Pen, also Reports of Five Typical Sermons, (Brockville, Canada, n.d.), p. 13, cited in H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), p. 311.

[82] Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 86.

[83] Dr. Nathan Bangs, the first Canadian Methodist preacher, participated in a camp-meeting at Adolphustown in the western part of Upper Canada in 1803. An estimated 2,500 people took part in the meeting which

as late as the 1850's, but Methodism had now become more restrained. The loss of the Holiness Movement, a movement that was too exclusive to have been at home in any large denomination, was also indicative of the denominational character of The Methodist Church.

In its discussion of historical criticism, The Methodist Church accommodated a broad spectrum of theological opinion without organizational division or undue loss of membership. The traditional Methodist doctrine of perfection was retained, refined or rediscovered to resemble personal faith, but was only one of several theological questions discussed in The Methodist Church. The existence of the historical criticism discussion in Canadian Methodism was evidence of a denominational interest in theology; the character of the discussion reflected denominational comprehensiveness. Intolerant words and actions were sometimes expressed by individuals on both sides of the question, but, considering the importance of the issue, the church acted with tolerance. By doing so The Methodist Church emulated a trait sometimes considered a special strength of the most denominational bodies, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism. G.M. Grant considered tolerance and patience in questions of potential schism a merit lacking in his own Presbyterianism and some other churches but found in Roman Catholicism,

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lasted for several days. The religious part of the meeting, which also served a social purpose, consisted of singing, preaching, and prayer meetings held at intervals: "At five o'clock Saturday morning a prayer-meeting was held, and at ten o'clock a sermon." Following the sermons the clergy went among the people, exhorting the impenitent and comforting the distressed. Bangs wrote, "It was truly affecting to see parents weeping over their children, neighbours exhorting their unconverted neighbours to repent, while all, old and young were awe-struck," Stevens' Life and Times of Dr. Bangs, pp. 150-154, cited in Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, pp. 117-119.

since the Reformation, and recent Anglicanism.[84]

Theological discussion in The Methodist Church declined relatively after 1912. One factor in this decline was change in leadership. In 1914 Carman retired, after having been General Superintendent since the formation of The Methodist Church in 1884. The new General Superintendent, Dr. Samuel D. Chown did not continue Carman's intense interest in theology. The first general secretary of the Department of Temperance, Prohibition, and Moral Reform, organized in 1902, Chown's main interest was in ethical questions. By this time the other major participants in the old discussion had also retired. Dewart had not been reappointed editor of the Guardian in 1894 and, after 1908, Workman was without a regular post. Burwash retired in 1913 after forty six years at Victoria, twenty seven of them as president. The retirement of these men marked the end of an era in Canadian Methodism. Other factors that contributed to a relative decline in theological discussion about this time were an inclusive attitude to the traditions of the merging bodies and life in a more secular Canada. Concerning the statement of union, John W. Grant has observed: "It appears that the chief concern of the framers was to include as much Presbyterianism, Methodism and Congregationalism as they conscientiously could."[85] Perhaps tolerance was extended in the merger to the point where theology became less important. With the growth of science and industry Canada also became a more secular country. Theology could still be important, but

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[84]G.M. Grant, "Current Events," Queen's Quarterly, (July 1893), p. 76.

[85]John Webster Grant, The Canadian Experience Of Church Union, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967), p. 33.

there was increasing competition from expansion in the sciences necessary to the technology of an industrializing country.

UNIVERSITY FEDERATION

The university federation question led The Methodist Church to examine its role in higher education, especially as this role affected Methodism's relationship to the state. A uniquely Canadian arrangement that resembled the connection between the provincial and federal governments, university federation involved division of authority and responsibility between arts colleges and the University of Toronto. This arrangement suggested to Methodism the possibility of gaining the best of two worlds: the academic benefits of a large university combined with the social and religious life of a church college. The appeal of federation was denominational; through federation Methodism expected to maintain or increase its institutional participation in higher education. To enter federation, however, involved the risk of being swallowed up in a large university. Moreover, Methodism could not enter federation without changing its policy from the operation of essentially independent schools to alliance with the state in higher education.

University federation was a new departure in higher education, but it was not unrelated to Canadian educational tradition which had included more limited cooperative arrangements. Higher education in this country developed on a mixed base of support, consisting of church, state, and private sources. This development provided opportunity for conflict and cooperation

alike. An obvious instance of conflict was that which surrounded King's College, Toronto, where Anglicans attempted to combine state endowment with denominational control.[1] Objections raised by non-Anglicans, including Methodists, delayed the opening of King's for sixteen years, until 1843, and then led to its transfer to provincial control in 1849, at which time it was named the University of Toronto. Instances of cooperation may have been less colorful but were not less apparent. The church colleges in Nova Scotia received small grants from the provincial legislature and state supported Dalhousie University had chairs endowed by a church.[2] The church colleges in Ontario also received small provincial grants annually until 1869.[3] The particular combination of institutions that emerged in each province was the result of local conditions and initiative rather than part of a single pattern.

A notable form of cooperation short of federation was the affiliation of theological schools with a university. In Montreal, three theological schools affiliated with privately endowed McGill University. The first school to affiliate was Presbyterian College, in 1876. This affiliation

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[1]French, Parsons and Politics, p. 121.

[2]Presbyterians endowed the Chair of Mathematics at Dalhousie in 1863. This pattern expanded until, by 1896, Dalhousie had three denominationally and eight privately endowed chairs, The Universities of Canada: Their History and Organization With an Outline of British and American University Systems, Appendix to the Report of The Minister of Education, 1896, (Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter, 1896), p. 180.

[3]At first Victoria's grant was 500 pounds annually; later the amount was increased to $5,000. The Federation Act of 1887 did not provide for grants to denominational colleges but they were later restored, A.L. Langford, "Our College . . . A Retrospect and Prospect. Victoria 1829-1892," Acta Victoriana, Volume 31, (Christmas 1907), pp. 151, 154.

meant that Presbyterian students in the Montreal area were encouraged to take their arts work at McGill. In return McGill made some adjustment in the arts program for theological students.[4] When it was incorporated three years later, Wesleyan Theological College became the second school to affiliate. In 1880 Montreal Diocesan Theological College (Anglican) became the third theological school to cooperate. A similar arrangement developed in Toronto, where four theological schools affiliated with the University of Toronto.[5] The Roman Catholic school, St. Michael's College, affiliated in 1881. The other three theological schools in Toronto followed: Wycliffe College (low church Anglican), Knox College, and Toronto Baptist College. Through this affiliation each school was given representation on the university senate and six courses taught in the theological schools were given credit as arts electives.[6] The affiliation of theological schools with a university involved some mutual accommodation but was considerably less than a federation; this affiliation was a form of cooperation between schools whose curriculums did not overlap enough to necessitate a real division of authority and responsibility.

Another form of cooperation short of federation was the affiliation of three church colleges in Winnipeg to form the University of Manitoba. The new university, formed in 1877, was a degree-granting but not a teaching university. Teaching was given by the affiliated colleges: Manitoba

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[4]D.C. Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada. A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. 122.

[5]W.L. Morton, One University. A History of the University of Manitoba, 1877-1952, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1957), p. 10.

[6]Masters, Church Colleges, p. 95.

College, St. John's College, and St. Boniface College, which were supported by the Presbyterian, Anglican, and Roman Catholic churches respectively.[7] A relative difference in emphasis rather than a division of course work distinguished the work of the affiliated colleges from each other.[8] As they had done in Montreal, Methodists cooperated in Winnipeg as soon as they qualified for admission. Wesley College affiliated in 1888, when it met the staff requirements.[9] The affiliation of arts colleges that formed the University of Manitoba further illustrated a willingness to cooperate in higher education in Canada but was less than a federation. This affiliation lacked real participation by the central body, which was an administrative rather than a teaching unit.

In its participation in higher education during the years when these affiliations were formed, Canadian Methodism followed a denominational approach. The founding of Wesley College was not motivated by the objections to Anglican claims to monopoly and religious tests which had ostensibly been important in the founding of Victoria. The Methodist Church founded Wesley College because it had accepted institutional involvement in higher education as an essential part of its work. This involvement had become important enough to Canadian Methodism that it followed the

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[7]Morton, One University, p. 27.

[8]Earlier attempts had been made to consolidate higher education in Upper Canada. The 1849 act which created the University of Toronto provided for the church universities to become theological schools and affiliate. A more promising attempt was made in 1853, when provision was made to assign arts work to University College and related denominational colleges. This attempt failed for lack of financial provision for the church institutions, French, Parsons and Politics, pp. 267, 269.

[9]Masters, Church Colleges, p. 106.

example of the other large denominations and established a college in the gateway to the West. The establishment of Wesleyan in Montreal was a product of denominational interest as well. Wesleyan was Canadian Methodism's first strictly theological school, an institution traditionally important to a denomination. The affiliation of Methodist schools with other educational institutions was a further indication of denominational attachment to more centralized and complex institutions. The inclusion of Methodist schools in affiliations was a sign of Methodist similarity to other denominations in its approach to higher education.

The discussion which led to university federation was occasioned by the June 1883 Convocation address of William Mulock, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Toronto. In this address Mulock called for a wider curriculum for the University of Toronto, especially in the sciences, supported by additional government funds.[10] The church universities, who were also faced with the problem of increasing costs, protested against special grants to one university unless they were given rights to similar grants. The discussion grew to include the University of Toronto, the four affiliated theological colleges, University College, and three church universities. University College shared a crown-land-grant with the University of Toronto. The church universities, Victoria University, Queen's University, and University of Trinity College were supported by the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Anglican churches respectively. Victoria and Queen's, both chartered in 1841, had been the first active universities in Upper Canada. Trinity had been founded in 1852, after King's had become the University of Toronto.

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[10]Sissons, Victoria, p. 162.

In the course of the discussion three answers to the university question were proposed: coordinate grants, affiliation, and federation. The chief exponent of coordinate grants was Principal Grant of Queen's. "More than one college is needed," Grant argued, "why, then, if public support is to be given, should it be limited to one?"[11] The point was pressed by Grant in four speeches over the next seven months and in a letter to the Toronto Globe.[12] While not unsound in principle, Grant's proposal for coordinate grants was faced with a serious practical problem. This problem was the potentially high cost of coordinate grants to a large and perhaps growing number of universities in Ontario. In addition to the five universities involved in the federation discussions two others already existed, the Roman Catholic Regiopolis in Kingston and the Anglican University in London.[13]

The second proposal that emerged as an answer to the university question was affiliation of the church universities with the University of Toronto. Affiliation was the ideal held by the Hon. Edward Blake, Chancellor of the University of Toronto. Blake had moved the 1867 amendment which eliminated grants to church universities.[14] In his Commencement address

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[11] D.D. Calvin, Queen's University At Kingston. The First Century of a Scottish-Canadian Foundation, 1841-1941, (Toronto: Press of the Hunter-Rose Co. Limited, 1941), p. 102.

[12] G.M. Grant, "The University Question--Principal Grant Speaks," The Globe, Toronto, (18 January 1884), p. 4.

[13] Financial difficulty caused Western to suspend its arts work for ten years beginning in 1885, Masters, Church Colleges, pp. 113-114.

[14] C.B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education. An Historical Study, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), p. 118. The grants continued until 1869 to give the church universities time to adjust.

on June 10, 1884, Blake spoke highly of the course taken by the affiliated theological colleges. Ignoring the federation talks which had been under way for six months, he urged Methodism to "come heartily into line with our system" by following the theological colleges.[15] This proposal was not acceptable to Methodism because it would have eliminated Victoria's primary reason for existing.[16] Even after the 1871 addition of a theology department, Victoria had remained primarily an arts university.

The third proposal was federation. This idea was proposed by Burwash who, along with Dewart and Mulock, played a strong individual role in carrying it to completion. The federation idea was presented by Burwash to representatives of the University of Toronto, the affiliated theological schools, and the church universities at a January 1884 meeting initiated by Mulock.[17] Further meetings that year resulted in the drafting of a twenty-two-point statement to be submitted to the governing boards of the institutions involved. This statement provided for a division of curriculum in the federated university roughly along the lines of science for the University of Toronto and humanities for the denominational universities and University College. Each federating institution was to retain jurisdiction over its internal affairs and the state endowment was to be

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[15]Edward Blake's address was reported at length in "The Chancellor Discusses State University Endowment," The Globe, Toronto, (11 June 1884), p. 9.

[16]In 1850 Methodism had been prepared to accept affiliation, but this was a reluctant acceptance in view of financial pressure and the apparent absence of other alternatives at that time, French, Parsons and Politics, p. 268.

[17]W. Stewart Wallace, A History of The University of Toronto, 1827-1927, (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1927), p. 120.

restricted for use by the University of Toronto and University College.[18] The provisions of this statement were much like those of the 1853 proposal which had failed. More enthusiasm for federation in 1884 suggests the desire to cooperate had increased after the settlement of earlier problems, like inequality in the administration of the clergy reserves.

When the statement was submitted to the governing boards of the concerned institutions on January 9, 1885, it became evident that responsibility for action on the federation question would rest substantially with the Methodists. The Senate of the University of Toronto accepted the statement and University College did not offer a separate opinion. This positive action by the Senate is not to be denied but must be placed in perspective. The University of Toronto, its endowment "and all additions thereto" protected in the statement, viewed federation from a secure position. Victoria by contrast, faced the major upheaval of removal and possible economic insecurity. The theological colleges preferred to remain in their affiliated status. Knox and Toronto Baptist, true to the principle of separation of church and state, recommended that University College and the University of Toronto be united and that the church universities be permitted to teach whatever subjects they wished. This recommendation would have defeated the intention of federation to provide greater specialization through division of responsibility. Queen's declined acceptance and urged support for a second university in Eastern Ontario. Victoria recommended favorable consideration to the General Conference of The Methodist Church upon certain conditions. These conditions were: compensation for removal costs;

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[18]"Proposed Basis of University Federation, 1885," Appendix F, The Universities of Canada, pp. 390-395.

equality of all the colleges in the federated university; provision that transfer of subjects could be made only with the support of a three-fourths majority in the Senate. Trinity stated similar conditions but withdrew from the plan later that year. Victoria alone appointed a committee to continue negotiations.[19]

Methodist initiative in university federation reflected this church's continuing movement emphasis. A less established theological tradition was suggested as one reason why historical criticism was discussed more extensively by Canadian Methodism than by other denominations in the country. Similarly, the lack of established principles on the relationship of church and state gave Methodism greater flexibility to respond to the University federation question. The Methodist Church had emerged from its series of mergers with a compromise position on the relationship between church and state. The new church supported neither the principle of church establishment nor its opposite, the separation of church and state. These principles were not indigenous to Canada and in a new question like university federation they retarded participation by the churches that held them. The response of Knox, which had a Free Church background, and Toronto Baptist reflected their separation of church and state position. The Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Old Kirk Presbyterian churches, which had been most closely related to church establishment in Canada, were also less ready than the Methodists to exercise initiative in university federation. The Methodist Church, being relatively free from either of these principles,

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[19]Copies of the resolutions adopted by the governing boards of these institutions are printed in Nathanael Burwash, "Quadrennial Report of The Board of Regents of Victoria University," Journal of Proceedings, 1886, pp. 207-217.

was more flexible in responding to the pressures for cooperation with the state in higher education imposed by the diverse population and the limited resources of the Canadian environment.

Victoria's negotiations with the provincial government concerning removal costs were without positive results. Premier Oliver Mowat's response by letter expressed his "great interest in the proposed consolidation" but promised nothing.[20] "With regard to 'equitable compensation to the colleges for losses incident to entering federation," wrote Mowat, "it is our hope and expectation that there will on the whole be no loss, but great gain."[21] This was a pleasant thought but not a helpful one in view of Victoria's estimated half-million dollar cost of establishing a new campus. Correspondence over the question of a building site in Toronto met with only slightly more success. Anxious to have something to report to the General Conference, Victoria's committee addressed repeated correspondence to the Department of Education. The Minister of Education, George W. Ross, did not give a specific answer until three days before the General Conference was to open. At this time Ross wrote that Victoria would be able to lease a site from the government "at a nominal rent."[22] Financial pressure had always been a problem at Victoria and it became a final hurdle that Methodism had to get over before it could enter federation.

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[20]This letter dated March 20, 1886 is printed in Appendix 13 of Nathanael Burwash, The History of Victoria College, (Toronto: The Victoria College Press, 1927), pp. 555-556.

[21]Ibid.

[22]This letter dated August 28, 1886 is printed in Appendix 13 of Burwash, History, pp. 560-561.

The basic arguments for Methodist participation in federation were articulated by Victoria board members, Rev. Samuel S. Nelles, Burwash, and Dewart. Nelles was principal of Victoria from 1854 until his death in 1887. Nelles and Burwash outlined their arguments at the 1885 Convocation at Victoria where Nelles addressed the convocation and Burwash addressed the alumni association. Dewart's major address on the subject was given at the decisive 1886 General Conference where he was the strongest exponent of federation. These men argued for federation on educational, missionary, and patriotic grounds.

The educational argument was that federation would provide better education for Methodist students without a reduction in the religious influence of The Methodist Church over its students. Federation would combine, Burwash stated to the alumni, "the compact college organization for the culture of your students with the broad University programme for the promotion of all higher learning."[23] Essentially the same argument was stated, albeit in more protective terms, by Nelles to the convocation. He claimed federation would combine "improved intellectual advantages" with "the same religious safeguards" as those presently enjoyed.[24] The educational argument also urged more effective use of the combined resources of church and state through federation. The desire of leading Methodists to combine resources with the state stemmed from their adoption of a denominational

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[23]Nathanael Burwash, "Dr. Burwash's Address to The Alumni on University Confederation in 1885," printed as Appendix 5 in Burwash, History, p. 533.

[24]Samuel Nelles, "Address of President Nelles at Victoria University Convocation, Cobourg, Wednesday, May 13, 1885," printed as Appendix 4 in Burwash, History, p. 528.

approach to higher education. Only thirty-five years earlier the editor of the Guardian, Rev. J.E. Sanderson, had attacked the establishment of the University of Toronto on the grounds of infidelity and centralization.[25] In 1885 leading Methodists had accepted the University of Toronto and were arguing for greater centralization.

The second argument for federation was missionary. Burwash's position was that federation would promote a "broad liberal Christian spirit" by bringing together students with a variety of beliefs into a common learning fellowship.[26] A more aggressive missionary argument was asserted by Dewart. He urged Methodists to "take their full share in the control of the Provincial University."[27] The true policy of Methodism was, Dewart stated, "to carry the spirit, fire and life of Methodism into the environments of the day."[28] The institutional aggressiveness of sharing in the "control of the Provincial University" contrasted with the policy of the early Methodist movement, which had concentrated on changing individuals. Wesley had said the purpose of Methodism was to reform the nation but he apparently thought this could be done without political action; Wesley was politically conservative himself and established a No Politics Rule for his followers.[29]

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[25] The Christian Guardian, (3 April 1850), cited in M.V. Royce, "The Contribution of the Methodist Church to Social Welfare in Canada," (M.A. Thesis, Toronto, 1940), p. 128.

[26] Burwash, "Address to The Alumni," p. 533.

[27] E.H. Dewart's address to the 1886 General Conference was reported at length in "Dr. Dewart's Address," The Christian Guardian, (15 September 1886), p. 7.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Royce, "Social Welfare," p. 9.

On his first visit to England in 1831, George Ryerson observed the conservatism of the British Wesleyans and wrote that he feared the Wesleyan Conference was "an obstacle to the extension of civil and religious liberty."[30] The missionary argument for university federation expressed the denominational assumption that Methodism should be institutionally active in public questions.

The third argument for federation was patriotism. In the patriotic argument Burwash's broader perspective was again evident. While Dewart's argument ranged from the provincial to the national, Burwash's argument ranged from the national to the international. Dewart stated that a strong university would enable Canada to train her own graduate students, and would lessen sectional feeling by bringing together young men from different denominations and different political parties.[31] Denominational assumptions were apparent in this argument as well; patriotism was to be promoted by institutional development. Methodist merger experience perhaps led Dewart to assume unity of sentiment would follow institutional unity. Burwash's broader view also depended on institutional development. He asserted that Canada's position in the world depended on a strong university. "No nation can occupy a leading place among the civilized nations," wrote Burwash, " . . . except as she had a large body of cultured men to act as the educators of all the people."[32] Their specific arguments were not identical but Burwash, Nelles, and Dewart all urged that federation

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[30]Royce, Social Welfare," p. 11.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Burwash, "Address to The Alumni," p. 530.

would provide The Methodist Church and Canada with educational, missionary, and patriotic advantages. These arguments were the product of a denominational approach to higher education. A movement approach would have been to direct Methodist involvement in the provincial university to the establishment of cell-groups among interested persons. The Methodist movement, in fact, originated with a group of Oxford students who adopted a religious discipline.

Opposition to federation in The Methodist Church, however, was almost as strong as argument for it. Loyalties to Cobourg and a more individualistic view of the mission of The Methodist Church were among the factors operating against federation.[33] Opposition to federation was led by Rev. Alexander Sutherland, who had been chairman of the committee that had negotiated the formation of The Methodist Church in 1884 and who continued as General Secretary of Missions in the new church. Like the major promoters of federation, he was a member of Victoria's board. Sutherland's commitment to a strong, independent Methodist Church was reflected in his proposal for one central Methodist university in Canada.[34] As Methodism already had two universities in Canada this proposal had problems of its own. Sutherland had a precedent in the recent history of Canadian Methodism in which this church had established its own universities. But he failed to identify with Methodism's flexibility in responding to a new situation.

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[33]For references to further discussion of federation see Burwash, History, pp. 318-323; and Wallace, History, p. 124.

[34]Rev. Alexander Sutherland, "Our 'Traditional Policy' at The Coming General Conference," The Canadian Methodist Magazine, (August 1886), p. 161.

Two of the central figures in the historical criticism discussion, Dewart and Workman changed roles in the university federation question.[35] The traditionalist in theology, Dewart was venturesome in this practical question where historical critic Workman wook a traditional stance. While Dewart was an immovable advocate of federation, Workman urged that Victoria remain an independent university in Cobourg. From Germany, Workman wrote a lengthy letter to the student publication Acta Victoriana.[36] The letter, which resembled an essay on the subject, seemed out of touch with conditions at Victoria. Concerning the financial question, for instance, Workman cited the increasing endowments of Yale and Harvard universities as evidence that independent universities were likely to become wealthier than state universities.[37] To turn away from a promising independent existence and enter federation would be, in Workman's view, a humiliation for Victoria.[38] Workman's financial prediction was already proving unapplicable to Methodist universities in the United States, several of which became public institutions between 1880 and 1900 to gain a broader base of support.[39]

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[35]The other two major participants in the historical criticism discussion both supported federation in some degree. Carman took part in a schedule of speaking engagements arranged by Burwash to promote federation in the Ontario and Quebec conferences, N. Burwash, Letter to Carman, July 26, 1884, Carman Papers, (United Church Archives, Victoria University), Box 3, File 12.

[36]G.C. Workman, "University Confederation. Progression or Retrogression," Acta Victoriana, Volume 9, (November 1885), pp. 6-9; further installments of the letter appeared in the January through May 1886 issues of Acta Victoriana.

[37]Workman letter, Acta Victoriana, Volume 9, (March 1886), p. 8.

[38]Workman letter, Acta Victoriana, Volume 9, (March 1886), p. 7.

[39]Royce, "Social Welfare," P. 27.

The prediction must also have seemed unlikely to the Victoria administration which had always been plagued with financial difficulties.

With the approach of the 1886 General Conference the federation issue boiled down to the courage to take initiative in a new situation. The withdrawal of the other church universities and the lack of a specific commitment for removal assistance from the provincial government made Victoria's position in the proposed federation much less secure. When a pre-conference attempt to raise funds for removal bogged down Burwash lost his nerve. He was still in favor of federation in principle but found it necessary to abandon the ideal for financial reasons. It then seemed to him that the required half million dollars for removal could not be raised within Methodism because of the pressure of missionary and clergy salary costs.[40] Nelles, who was sensitive about the details of federation, changed his mind when the conditions originally stated by the Victoria board were not met. Upon receipt of the letter from Ross promising only a site at a nominal rent, Victoria's board changed its previous resolution for favorable action by the General Conference and now submitted the question to the General Conference "without any expression of opinion" as to the desired action.[41]

At the General Conference the debate was between the virtue of an independent tradition and that of institutional involvement. Sutherland spoke for independence and forecasted disastrous results from federation.

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[40]Nathanael Burwash, "University Confederation," The Globe, Toronto, (30 August 1886), p. 4.

[41]Burwash, "Report of the Board of Regents," p. 200.

In a one and three quarter hour address he warned the delegates against being swallowed up in federation. "They might," he said, "go into it and in a year or two coalesce and disappear entirely."[42] This speech provides a sharp contrast to the dynamic Methodism described elsewhere by Sutherland. In his volume on Methodism in Canada, he credited Methodism with shaping the educational policy of whole provinces and of leavening the theology of other denominations.[43] Like Wesley's idea of reforming the nation, Sutherland's idea of shaping educational policy lacked an institutional point of contact. Apparently Sutherland, like Wesley, expected Methodism to make its impact on the nation primarily by the action of individuals. Dewart, who had never wavered in his support for federation,[44] spoke for institutional involvement. He urged Canadian Methodists to "take their full share in moulding the character and life of the country in its chief educational centre."[45]

The courage to go through with federation at the General Conference was finally displayed by the laymen. The interest of laymen in the federation question was apparent from their attendance in large numbers. Attendance at some of the General Conference sessions was estimated at

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[42]Alexander Sutherland's address to the 1886 General Conference was reported at length in "Dr. Sutherland's Address," The Christian Guardian, (15 September 1886), p. 6.

[43]Alexander Sutherland, Methodism in Canada. Its Work and Its Story, (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1904), p. 6.

[44]E.H. Dewart, "College Federation. A New Departure," The Christian Guardian, (1 September 1886), p. 8.

[45]"Dr. Dewart's Address," p. 4.

2,000, several times that of the delegation which numbered 284. Visitors during the federation debate included Blake, Mulock, Mowat, Ross, and Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald. The Prime Minister eased the tension for a moment by a reference to himself as Saul among the prophets.[46] The laymen were the only ones with the means to solve the immediate financial problem. Their response made federation possible. During the three day debate on federation laymen offered $85,000. in financial support. Mr. George A. Cox offered $30,000. for himself and $30,000. for Mr. W. Gooderham. Hon. John Macdonald offered $25,000.[47] Macdonald was a member of both the University of Toronto Senate and the Victoria board. It was through Macdonald that Mulock first approached Nelles with a view to "affiliation".[48] Together these offers, comprising about one fifth of the funds needed for removal to Toronto, were a positive reply to the financial problem. The positive vote on the federation question was also carried by the laymen. When the vote was taken at 11:30 p. m. on September 9, the laymen voted in the affirmative 72 to 47. The clergy divided evenly 66 to 66, with Burwash and Nelles voting in the negative.[49] The laymen had been given representation at the General Conference only twelve years earlier but were already exerting a significant influence on its decisions.

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[46] Sissons, History, p. 180.

[47] Burwash, History, p. 343.

[48] William James Loudon, Sir William Mulock. A Short Biography, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1932), p. 76.

[49] Journal of Proceedings, 1886, pp. 60-61.

This increased role for laymen was a further mark of the denominational emphasis in The Methodist Church. In the early Methodist movement Wesley had refused to share authority even with his leading clergy. With the death of the founder some democratization became necessary and administrative control fell to a committee. Small Methodist groups like the Primative Methodist Church and the Bible Christians had lay representation at their conferences from the time they were founded. In 1874 Wesleyans in Canada accepted lay representation to the General Conference, two years after this step had been taken by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and a few years before it was taken by Wesleyans in Britain.[50] Though the role of laymen was growing in The Methodist Church it seems to have been behind that of other denominations on important committees. At the 1889 meeting with Anglicans and Presbyterians to discuss merger, Methodism had the smallest proportion of laymen on their committee, two out of fourteen, as compared with five out of fourteen for the Presbyterians, and eight out of thirty for the Anglicans.[51]

The 1886 General Conference was decisive for university federation. The provincial government followed in 1887 with the necessary revision of the Education Act. Further obstacles, including a court injunction which sought to prevent removal from Cobourg, delayed but could not prevent Victoria's entry into federation. The new campus opened for students in Queen's Park in Toronto in 1892. The later addition of two other denominational universities completed the federation program. Trinity entered

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[50]Royce,"Social Welfare," pp. 31, 94, 95.

[51]Thomas R. Millman, "The Conference on Christian Unity, Toronto, 1889," Canadian Journal of Theology, Volume 3, (July 1957), p. 168.

federation in 1892. St. Michael's added arts to its program and followed in 1910. The entrance of Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism as the only other partners confirmed the denominational character of participation in university federation. The federation question was of interest to denominations, not to churches with a more independent tradition.

The independence of the Presbyterians may have been due to their individualism. The followers of Calvin had been the backbone of the Protestant Ethic, with its rugged individualism. This individualism was apparent in a paper read by Principal Grant to the Evangelical Alliance at an 1894 meeting in Chicago. Grant noted that church mergers had been taking place in Canada and Sabbath observance was general but that the tone of political life was not high and a first class literature had not been produced. These observations were followed by an assertion of the importance of individual activity. "Now, no amount of conformity or of external activity," stated Grant, "will compensate for the absence of that free creative spirit which is at once the proof and the condition of permanent religious vitality."[52] Yet Grant thought Canada had developed sufficiently to take its place among the nations of the world and contribute to the solution of "social, economic, and international questions." He did not doubt that statesmen, teachers, ministers, and prophets, "leaders in abundance," would come forth from the "quiet firesides" of Canada and make a contribution in national and international affairs.[53] A strong individual himself, Grant assumed world problems could be solved by committed and

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[52]G.M. Grant, "The Religious Condition of Canada," Queen's Quarterly, Volume 1, (April 1894), pp. 319-320.

[53]Grant, "Religious Condition," p. 321.

able individuals. The individualism of this "quiet firesides" rationale, whatever its validity, stood in contrast to the corporateness of the "broad University programme" rationale urged by Methodists as a benefit of federation. The distinction between individualism and corporateness may also help to explain the entrance of Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism into federation while Presbyterianism remained out. The uniformity of the liturgy in the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches underscored the corporate life of the members. There was more room for individualism in the Presbyterian church where the sermon, which was different on every Sunday and in every congregation, was more important than the liturgy.

The federated university of 1910, consisting of the University of Toronto, University College, and three church universities, was a strong institution consistent with the major goals of its first participants. This institution successfully combined church and state resources for the support of higher education.[54] The community life of small colleges had also been successfully combined with the educational advantages of a large university. The federated University of Toronto contrasted with the University of Manitoba, where failure to develop a federated university led to a peripheral role for the affiliated colleges. In 1904 the University of Manitoba began teaching in the sciences and five years later began

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[54]Though the role of the state in higher education in Canada has since increased, church and private resources have remained significant. In 1970 the government grant of $518,381. to Victoria was only 16 per cent of Victoria's operating budget that year. The other major sources of income were tuition and fees, 32 per cent, auxiliary enterprises, 23 per cent, and endowment income for operating purposes, 11 per cent, "Victoria Reports," (January 1971), published by authority of the Board of Regents, Victoria University, Toronto, p. 25.

teaching in the arts as well. The role of the colleges was further diminished under the Education Act of 1917, when the University of Manitoba came under the control of a Board of Governors on which the colleges were not represented.[55] While the University of Toronto developed in a manner that recognized the diversity of higher education in Ontario, the University of Manitoba largely failed to develop the variety in its tradition.[56]

Through its initiative in university federation, The Methodist Church affirmed its denominational interest in the important public area of higher education. University federation provided a form of church and state cooperation in higher education that was better suited to the Canadian environment than either of the traditional approaches, church establishment and separation of church and state. Religious diversity in Canada made church establishment untenable; and separation of church and state encouraged the multiplication of small colleges scarcely able to sustain themselves. The federation scheme avoided both of these disadvantages. Partnership in federation gave The Methodist Church an institutional role in the provincial university. This role was exercised through proportionate representation on the University of Toronto senate and control over Victoria's internal affairs. Methodist roots as a reform movement were still influential in The Methodist Church's approach to university federation. A less established tradition permitted Methodism to adapt to the new situation posed by federation more quickly than the other denominations. But the role of The Methodist Church in university federation was primarily denominational. A movement approach would have been to let the state operate the university

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[55]Masters, Church Colleges, p. 159.

[56]The 1960 formation of the small Laurentian University of Sudbury was a recent example of federation.

and to promote Methodist influence in the university community along less formal lines, such as the formation of cell-groups. In federation, Methodism was a denomination participating in a complex and centralized institution with other denominations and with the state. The addition of Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism reasserted the denominational appeal of federation.

THE WEST

The Methodist Church formed in 1884 viewed the West as its most challenging mission field. The opportunity to serve the scattered but growing settlements of the West revived memories of past Methodist missionary successes, when the circuit rider had served the earlier frontiers of the United States and British North America. At the same time more recent experience in the growing towns and cities of Ontario had led Methodism to adopt the institutional approach of other denominations. Here the institutional development of permanent congregations and schools had replaced the circuits and class meetings of the Methodist movement; the gathering of people into permanent structures had replaced the portable structure of the missionary going to the people. In its mission to the West, The Methodist Church could draw on both its earlier movement experience and its more recent denominational experience.

The early Methodist movement owed much of its effectiveness to the circuit system in which the smallest unit of organization was the weekly class meeting of about twelve members with a lay leader. The duty of the lay leader at these meetings was to ask the members "how their souls prosper;" to advise, reprove, or comfort them "as occasion may require;" and to receive an offering for the church and the poor.[1] This structure permitted,

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[1] The Doctrine and Discipline of The Methodist Church, Canada, 1922, (Toronto: The Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1923), p. 22.

indeed required, a greater degree of verbal and financial participation by every member than did the structures of the major denominations. While an Anglican could be content with occasional church attendance, a Methodist gave a weekly account of his faith. These class meetings suffered the danger of becoming empty routine but they also provided opportunity for the development of individual and group talents. One or more class meetings constituted a society, the basic local organizational unit comparable to a congregation in many religious bodies. The members of each society met for common worship and mutual support. The only requirement for membership in a society was a personal religious interest, or in the intense religious language of eighteenth century Methodism "a desire to flee from the wrath to come."[2] One or more societies comprised a circuit, served by a clergyman. The missionary effectiveness of the circuit system was that it combined the supervision of every member with his participation in a local group at his place of work or residence.

The circuit system designed by Wesley for use among the working class in England proved effective on the frontiers of the United States and British North America as well. In the United States a missionary sometimes required six weeks to cover the fifteen to twenty-five preaching stations on his 500 mile circuit.[3] The circuit rider would conduct services in barns, homes, or whatever building was available, and would organize a class meeting where there were interested persons. Use of this structure in serving remote areas did much to make Methodism the largest Protestant

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Olmstead, History of Religion, p. 252.

body in the United States by 1855.[4] In British North America circuits were only relatively shorter. Two clergymen were commonly assigned to a circuit consisting of twenty-five or thirty points and requiring two weeks to cover. On the York and Yonge Street circuit in 1824, which extended to Lake Simcoe, Egerton Ryerson and his partner each travelled about 200 miles in four weeks and preached twenty-five times.[5] As it did in the United States, the circuit system vigorously promoted Methodist growth in Upper Canada.[6]

Canadian Methodism continued to use the extended circuit to serve sparsely settled areas, but, where population increased, this distinctively Methodist movement structure was gradually replaced by denominational structures. In the urban areas Methodism developed strong congregations where one or more clergymen, supported by other staff, served a single point. Congregational development was marked by changes in the appearance of Methodist places of worship. The small wooden building on King Street where Ryerson had preached to a membership of about fifty in 1824 was replaced in 1832 by a building on Adelaide Street which seated 1,000 and in 1872 by Metropolitan Methodist Church, an imposing stone building on Queen Street able to seat 2,200. The conference centre of Canadian Methodism, Metropolitan Methodist Church hosted three of the ten General Conferences held by The Methodist Church. St. James Methodist Church in Montreal was even more imposing as a building but its membership was not as influential as that of

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[4]Olmstead, History of Religion, p. 254.

[5]Thomas, Ryerson, p. 48.

[6]The efforts of an early missionary began the process which led the Ryerson brothers to abandon their Anglican background for the Methodist ministry.

Metropolitan. In outward appearance these "cathedrals" of Canadian Methodism were not unlike their Anglican counterparts. Structures within the congregations were changing as well. In 1856 the attendance requirement at the class meeting was relaxed among Canadian Wesleyans.[7] The Sunday school, an interdenominational structure, was replacing the class meeting as the main learning experience of the general membership. Canadian Methodism had begun to develop Sunday schools in the 1820's,[8] and by 1890 had a quarter of a million students enrolled in 3,000 of them.[9] The large portraits of former Sunday school superintendents that were hung in an educational room of Trinity Methodist Church on Bloor Street in Toronto were indicative of the importance attributed to the Sunday school. In the urban areas, the traditional Methodist mission structures were being replaced by structures common to denominations; consultation and worship in small groups was being replaced by a Sunday program of study and worship in large assemblies.

At its formation in 1884, The Methodist Church singled out the West for special missionary attention. "The heralds of the Cross," declared the 1883 Adjourned General Conference in its address to the membership, "must follow the adventurous pioneer to the remotest settlements of the Saskatchewan, the Qu' Appelle, and the Peace River, and the vast regions

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[7]Thomas, Ryerson, p. 118.

[8]McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 157.

[9]Burwash, "Methodist Education in Canada," Centennial, p. 328.

beyond."[10] While the purpose of this declaration was to rally support rather than specify the missionary method to be used, it assumed the movement concept of the missionary going to the people. Methodism was not the only religious body interested in the West. In 1881, Anglicanism, Roman Catholicism, and Presbyterianism, in descending order, all had more adherents in both Manitoba and British Columbia than did Methodism.[11] But none of these bodies were more enthusiastic than The Methodist Church about its prospects in the West. Ontario Anglicanism was in fact lethargic about work in the West. About 1870 Robert Machray, Bishop of Rupert's Land, was unsuccessful in an attempt to gain support for expansion from central and eastern Canada. "I have no hope of any aid from the Church in (old) Canada," he concluded, "for every Diocese there is bound up in itself."[12] Except for some support for St. John's College, the concern of Ontario Anglicanism for the religious character of the West did not at this time extend to missionary activity. The success of Methodism's prior missionary experience, first on the frontiers and then in the more urban areas, had made it the largest religious body in Ontario and the second largest in

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[10]"Address of The General Conference of The Methodist Church to The Methodist People," printed in The Christian Guardian, (26 September 1883), p. 297. This conference made the preparatory decisions for the 1884 merger.

[11]The Canada Year Book 1911, Second Series, (Ottawa: Printed by C.H. Parmeles, Printer to The King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1912), pp. 16-17.

[12]Robert Machray, Life of Robert Machray D.D., LL.D., D.C.L. Archbishop of Rupert's Land, Primate of All Canada, Prelate of The Order of St. Michael and St. George, (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1909), p. 216. The author of the book was a nephew of Bishop Machray.

Canada.[13] Methodism expected to be equally successful in the West. "We may largely shape the destiny of the country," challenged the Adjourned General Conference.[14]

The first missionary work in the West, done by Roman Catholicism, provides as typical an example of the denominational approach as one is likely to find. The first missionary, Joseph N. Provencher, came to the Red River settlement in 1818 to develop a Roman Catholic community of metis, French, and Germans.[15] With support from Quebec and France, Roman Catholic work expanded from the Red River to the Indians and Eskimos of the North and West and to the settlers on the coast. In 1844 the Sisters of Charity of Montreal (Grey Nuns) arrived in St. Boniface. They assisted with schools, convents, orphanages, and hospitals at St. Boniface, Lac Ste. Anne, and St. Albert (near Edmonton).[16] A French missionary society, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, undertook to supply priests for the West and the first two arrived in 1845.[17] Two years later an episcopate was established in St. Boniface, with Provencher as bishop. Further Roman Catholic development in the West prior to extensive settlement included the founding of St.

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[13] Canada Year Book 1911, pp. 15, 20.

[14] "Address of the General Conference," 1883, p. 297.

[15] Provencher named his community St. Boniface "in order to draw God's blessing on the German Meurons, Catholics none too fervent, through the intercession of the Apostle of their nation," H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), p. 247.

[16] "A series of remarkable missionaries opened the Church in the West," Western Catholic Reporter, (19 September 1971), p. 5.

[17] Ibid.

Boniface College in 1854 and the establishment of an episcopate at St. Albert in 1871. The institutional emphasis of this work was on the permanent and centralized structures of a denomination. The Red River Settlement of a few thousand people and the surrounding area had Roman Catholic churches, schools, and hospitals staffed by bishops, an order of nuns, and an order of priests. A few years behind Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism developed in a similar pattern except that it lacked an order of nuns and depended more heavily on an overseas parent. The key to the approach of Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism was not the "remotest settlements" that caught the imagination of Methodists but a base in the Red River Settlement.

Methodism entered the West later than Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism but earlier than Presbyterianism. A simple explanation may not exist for the order in which these churches entered the West. But it may be noted that the most established body in Canada, Roman Catholicism, was first to enter the West. Anglicanism and Methodism, sponsored by enthusiastic missionary societies in England, were second and third respectively. Presbyterianism had to wait for a graduate of Knox College, Toronto to come to the Red River settlement and was fourth.[18] The first Methodist work in the West was among the Indians and was sponsored by the British Wesleyan Missionary Society. At the invitation of the Hudson's Bay Company, the society assigned four missionaries from England to company posts in 1840. One of these four, James Evans, assigned to Norway House, undertook to provide the Cree Indians with religious literature by inventing a syllabic

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[18]The first Presbyterian missionary to the West, John Black, came to the Red River settlement in 1851, McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 102.

system for their language.[19] Another of the first four, Robert Rundle established two residential Indian schools near what is now Edmonton, and taught reading and writing by means of Evan's invention, the Cree syllabic.[20]

As the merger of its factions provided the institutional strength for theological discussion and participation in university federation, merger enabled Canadian Methodism to undertake mission in the West. When Wesleyans in Upper and Lower Canada merged in 1853, responsibility for Methodist missions in the West was transferred from England to Canada. Though Canadian Methodism recruited missionaries overseas as actively as the other bodies, it was after this transfer the most financially independent of the major denominations.[21] Soon after the 1853 merger Canadian Wesleyans appointed missionaries to the miners and settlers of British Columbia and to the Indians of the West. The first four appointments to British Columbia arrived in 1859 and included Ephraim Evans, brother of James Evans, and Edward White, whose son J.H. White became superintendent of missions for British Columbia when local appointments were made in 1902.[22] In 1860, George McDougall and his son John were appointed missionaries to the

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[19]Wilson, Church Grows, p. 95.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Only occasional financial support was received by Canadian Methodism from England after this time, Mrs. Frederick C. Stephenson, One Hundred Years of Canadian Methodist Missions 1824-1924, Volume 1, (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1925), p. 137. Presbyterians in Canada continued to receive missionary funds from Britain annually after their merger in 1875, John Thomas McNeill, The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875-1925, (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925), p. 104.

[22]Stephenson, Hundred Years, p. 137.

Indians of the North-west.[23] Missionary expansion was augmented by further mergers. When the Methodist Church in Canada was formed in 1874, Alexander Sutherland was elected General Secretary and Clerical Treasurer of the Mission Society, an office which took him throughout Canada, Japan, and the Bermudas superintending mission work. At the same time Sutherland was chairman of the committee that negotiated the 1884 merger which united nearly all of Canadian Methodism. Sutherland credited the mission work of the church with being a prime factor in the accomplishment of this final merger. In his view, mission served "to turn the attention of ministers and people from old differences and even antagonisms, and to fix it upon a common object."[24] Mission work in general was strengthened by these mergers but attention was focused on the West. In the judgment of the Adjourned General Conference, the needs of the West made the time "opportune for the cessation of the waste of men and means through the divisions of Methodism."[25] The reference to waste was to that caused by competing Methodist congregations in some small communities in central and eastern Canada. Clergymen who might become unemployed by the merger of these competing congregations were told there was a need for missionaries in the West.[26]

Steps to strengthen the work in the West were taken soon after the Adjourned General Conference. Later in 1883 the scattered congregations

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[23]John McDougall, George Millward McDougall, The Pioneer, Patriot and Missionary, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1902), p. 64.

[24]Rev. Alexander Sutherland, "The Methodist Church in Relation to Missions," Centennial, p. 259.

[25]"Address of The General Conference," 1883, p. 297. See also E.H. Dewart, "The General Conference," The Christian Guardian, (22 August 1883), p. 268.

[26]"Address of The General Conference," 1883, p. 297.

and missions in Manitoba and the North-west were formed into a conference. With 2,883 members,[27] the Manitoba and North-west Conference was small but rapid growth was expected. A further step in promoting mission in the West was the 1886 appointment of James Woodsworth as Superintendent of Missions for Manitoba and the North-west. British Columbia was added to Woodsworth's territory in 1894. Woodsworth had served charges in and around Brandon, Manitoba for four years prior to his missions appointment. He was traditional in piety but less so in theology. His son, James Shaver Woodsworth, became a social gospel leader. The appointment of a Superintendent of Missions to the West, the only area to have its own Superintendent, followed the policy of Presbyterianism which had appointed the energetic Rev. James Robertson to a similar post five years earlier. Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism did not have superintendents of missions but did have bishops in the West to supervise their total work.

The appeal of the West to The Methodist Church was partly the geographical attraction of an enormous new and fertile territory able to support millions of people. "Vast areas of our country are being thrown open for settlement," optimistically reported the Adjourned General Conference.[28] James Woodsworth similarly invited Methodism to a "field embracing half a continent."[29] This enormous area was considered temperate and fertile.

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[27]Edmund H. Oliver, His Dominion of Canada. A Study in The Background, Development and Challenge of The Missions of The United Church of Canada, (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1932), p. 150.

[28]"Address of The General Conference," 1883, p. 297.

[29]James Woodsworth, "Report of The Superintendent of Missions for Manitoba and The North-west," Journal of Proceedings of The Sixth General Conference of The Methodist Church, Held in Grace Church, Winnipeg, Manitoba, From September 4th to September 19th, 1902, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1902), p. 113.

In notes written during a trip by rail from Brandon to Banff in February 1892, Woodsworth described what must have been one of the warmest winters on record. Near Maple Creek, where it was milder than at Brandon, cattle, sheep, and horses were observed pasturing on the hills and on the plains. Near Calgary, where it was even milder, Woodsworth noted that cattle did not require feed during the winter beyond what they could graze off of the prairie.[30] While mid-winter mild spells do occur on the prairies, it is no longer common to winter domestic animals at either Maple Creek or Calgary without an extended feeding period. The Methodist Church envisioned "a vast population" entering the West through the "ever-swelling tide of immigration from the older provinces and from the crowded countries of the old world."[31] Consistent with this vision, the mission policy of the Manitoba and the North-west Conference was to occupy the territory as soon and as fully as possible in anticipation of further settlement. In 1895, for example, the conference appointed a missionary to cover Regina and Estevan. With the aid of a rail pass the missionary was able to serve each point on alternate Sundays. These two points were 161 miles distant from each other, their combined membership was fifty-five, and there was little settlement between them.[32] This was a weak mission but the territory was

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[30] James Woodsworth, "Notes by the Way," Methodist Gleaner, (March 1892), reprinted in Rev. James Woodsworth, Thirty Years In The Canadian North-west, (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1917), pp. 150-154.

[31] "Address of The General Conference," 1883, p. 297. See also Woodsworth, "Report of Superintendent," Journal of Proceedings, 1902, p. 113 and "Quadrennial Report of The General Board of Missions, 1898-1902," Albert Carman, Chairman and Alexander Sutherland, General Secretary, Journal of Proceedings, 1902, p. 107.

[32] Woodsworth, Thirty Years, p. 140.

occupied and the mission was expected to grow with the arrival of new settlers.

Methodist optimism about the expanse and fertility of the West was shared by many other Canadians by the 1880's. Though John Palliser's report published in 1862, had described most of the southern half of the prairies as uninhabitable, subsequent visitors to the West were usually optimistic. Colonel Garnet Wolseley, who led the federal soldiers to the Red River settlement during the resistance led by Louis Riel in 1870, wrote of the "buoyant freedom" he had felt while gazing upon the "vast immensity" of the prairie.[33] To Wolseley the prairie was more than habitable, its freshness made "the old feel young again."[34] Another visitor to the West was G.M. Grant, secretary to Sandford Fleming's survey expedition for a railway route. Grant traversed only the portion of the prairie that even Palliser had considered fertile, but his optimistic generalizations tended to include the entire prairie region. After having followed the North Saskatchewan River from Fort Gary to Edmonton, Grant wrote, "it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that we have a great and fertile North-west, a thousand miles long and from one to four hundred miles broad . . . "[35] First published in 1873, Grant's widely read account went into several editions and was serialized in newspapers.

A denominational feature of Methodist mission to the West was the policy of establishing missions in anticipation of further settlement.

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[33]Cited by Pierre Berton, The National Dream. The Great Railway 1871-1881, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1970), p. 39.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Rev. George M. Grant, Ocean to Ocean. Sandford Fleming's Expedition Through Canada in 1872, enlarged and revised edition, (Toronto: Belford Brothers, Publishers, 1877), p. 190.

This policy represented the denominational approach of developing institutions to which settlers were invited rather than the movement approach of the itinerant following after the settler. In this denominational feature, Methodists resembled Anglicans and Presbyterians who also promoted their work in the West on the basis of anticipated settlement. Machray's efforts to expand Anglican work in the West in 1870 were based on the view, derived from the earlier experience in the United States, that the first years of settlement were decisive in determining the standing of a religious body.[36] Presbyterian work in the West was vigorously expanded following the 1881 appointment of Robertson as superintendent of missions. With the aid of a Church and Manse Building Fund, Robertson began founding churches where towns were expected to develop.[37] Roman Catholicism went institutionally further than the other denominations and attempted to alter the character of settlement by promoting Catholic colonization. The founding of a new catholic community, Ste. Agathe, in 1872 was due to the colonization efforts of Alexander Tache, who had succeeded Provencher as Bishop of St. Boniface.[38] Oblate missionary Albert Lacombe assisted in colonization and in 1876 and 1877 secured 1100 French Canadians from Quebec, which "swelled the ranks of the incipient parishes in Manitoba."[39] There were differences in the mission of these four churches, but they shared the denominational feature

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[36]Machray, Robert Machray, p. 220.

[37]McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 108.

[38]Rev. A.G. Morice, O.M.I., History of The Catholic Church in Western Canada From Lake Superior to the Pacific (1659-1895), (Toronto: The Musson Book Company, Limited, 1910), Volume 2, p. 96.

[39]Morice, Catholic Church, p. 121.

of establishing institutions in advance of settlement.[40]

Though the volume was smaller than it would be after the turn of the century, new settlement had been taking place since 1871. At first Manitoba received most of the new settlers. In 1871 they began to arrive from Ontario and three years later the first block settlement arrived, a group of Mennonites from Russia. An audience that Rev. George Bryce of Manitoba College spoke to in 1874 was suggestive of the ethnic complexion of the first new settlers. The audience consisted of forty-eight from Ontario, thirty-one Manitoban born, four from Ireland, three from the United States, and one each from France and Nova Scotia.[41] The ratio of settlers from central Canada soon decreased while those from Britain, Europe, and the United States increased. The volume of settlement increased for the next four decades. In Manitoba population increased from 1,963 in 1871 to 65,954 in 1881, then to 150,000 in 1891, to 255,000 in 1901, and to 450,000 by 1911.[42] In British Columbia and the North-west the heaviest decade of settlement was also the one ending in 1911.[43] Settlement continued to increase until 1914, when it was interrupted by the War and then tapered off until immigration ceased in 1930.

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[40] State institutions also developed in the West in advance of settlement. This fact limits the applicability of F.S. Turner's Frontier Thesis to the Canadian West.

[41] W.L. Morton, Manitoba. A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 160.

[42] The Canada Year Book 1921, Published by Authority of The Honourable J.A. Robb, M. P., Minister of Trade and Commerce, (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, Printer to The King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1922), p. 98.

[43] Ibid.

A further appeal of the West to The Methodist Church was patriotic. The development of the West challenged Methodism with the patriotic duty and opportunity of moulding the institutions of a new territory. Moreover, they thought the future character of Canada was closely tied to that of the West. In potent language the Adjourned General Conference urged Methodism to play a strong role in determining the character of Canada by shaping the West. "We are laying the foundations of empire in righteousness and truth," its address stated with reference to the West.[44] Woodsworth similarly challenged a later General Conference to take its part in determining the intellectual, moral, and spiritual characteristics of "the nation" now being laid.[45] On a less rhetorical level, pride was taken in the loyalty "to Queen and country" of the Indians under Methodist influence during the 1885 resistance led by Louis Riel.[46] Attachment to Queen and country alike was common to the churches of British origin. Roman Catholicism had less of this sentiment but was not less willing to support the state. Archbishop Tache had urged the government to adjust metis grievances but when the first resistance led by Riel took place he firmly supported the government.[47]

But the greatest appeal the West had for The Methodist Church was the opportunity for missionary expansion. For Sutherland the West presented

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[44]"Address of The General Conference," 1883, p. 297.

[45]Woodsworth, "Report of Superintendent," Journal of Proceedings, 1902, p. 113.

[46]Woodsworth, Thirty Years, pp. 94, 97. John McDougall and four Stony Indians served as scouts for the government forces. A letter describing their services, written by T. Bland Strange, Major-General, Commanding Alberta Forces, is printed in Woodsworth, Thirty Years, pp. 95-97.

[47]George F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada. A History of the Riel Rebellions, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 108.

"a grand field for remunerative mission work."[48] Woodsworth's equally high hopes for expansion in the West was evident in the hopes he expressed for the Calgary District in 1892. This district, covering roughly what is now the southern half of Alberta, was then served by one clergyman stationed in Calgary and three missionaries in the surrounding area. The work of the missionary stationed at Gleichen, fifty-six miles east of Calgary, will serve to illustrate the condition of the district. This missionary served nine points along a 110 mile stretch of railway. Seven of these points were section houses and the other two were farm houses. The usual congregation at each point during the winter consisted of three or four men, one woman, and some children. In the summer there were a few more men at each place especially at the farm houses.[49] Woodsworth concluded his notes on his visit to this huge and largely empty district with this question: "Who can tell how many districts, or even Conferences, may, in the future, be contained on the ground now covered by this one vast District?"[50]

The combined attraction of a vast and fertile new region, patriotism, and the opportunity for expansion made the West the mission priority of The Methodist Church. When Woodsworth visited Victoria University in 1889, to talk about mission and to recruit clerical candidates, the regular university program was cancelled and the day devoted to the West. Burwash chaired the general assembly of students and faculty and turned over his

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[48]Sutherland, "The Methodist Church in Relation to Missions," Centennial, p. 262.

[49]Woodsworth, "Notes by the Way," printed in Thirty Years, p. 157.

[50]Woodsworth, "Notes by the Way," Thirty Years, p. 168.

study as a place for Woodsworth to meet with students especially interested in the West.[51] This was Woodsworth's usual reception at both Victoria and Mount Allison.[52]

Methodist mission to the West had basic denominational features, but the movement influence was still apparent. Methodism depended more on the presence of the missionary and less on centralized institutions than did the other denominations. For Methodism the chief line of mission advance was the "tireless itinerant" conducting services in school-houses and settlers' cabins.[53] For Anglicanism the first line of mission advance was the college, "the laying hold of the higher education."[54] Roman Catholicism was especially institutional in its approach to the West. The Sisters of Charity of Montreal arrived in St. Albert in 1863, only two years after the first missionary, and this mission became a self-sustaining settlement with school, convent, orphanage, and hospital.[55] Even Presbyterianism with its church building fund showed a concern for "visibility and permanence" more denominational than the Methodist dependence on the missionary.[56]

Methodist missionary activity in the West received a relatively impressive response. Some new members were former Methodists who had settled

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[51] Woodsworth, Thirty Years, pp. 132-133.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Sutherland, "The Methodist Church in Relation to Missions," Centennial, p. 261.

[54] Machray, Robert Machray, p. 220.

[55] "Remarkable Missionaries," p. 5.

[56] McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 108.

in the West but most of the increase was attributed by Woodsworth to "the regular time honored Methodist means."[57] At the 1890 General Conference, Woodsworth reported a quadrennial increase in the number of "self-sustaining charges" from eleven to forty-six.[58] These forty-six charges had averaged only four and one-quarter years of dependence on mission funds. By 1898 the number of self-sustaining circuits in the West had increased to ninety.[59] The Manitoba and the North-west Conference with 17,692 members was, by 1898, the sixth largest of the eleven conferences of The Methodist Church.[60] It was smaller than the Montreal and the four Ontario conferences but was larger than the conferences in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, British Columbia, and Japan. The British Columbia Conference with 4,879 members was the second smallest conference but was more than twice as large as the tiny Japanese conference.[61] In twelve years, missionary work in the West had added about 17,500 members to The Methodist Church, many of them in charges that were now self-sustaining and that could be expected to contribute to other missions in the

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[57] James Woodsworth, "Report of The Superintendent of Missions in Manitoba and North-west Conference," Journal of Proceedings of The Third General Conference of The Methodist Church, Held September 10th to September 30th, 1890, in St. James' Church, Montreal, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890), p. 271.

[58] Woodsworth, "Report of Superintendent," 1890, p. 269.

[59] "General Conference," The Christian Guardian, (2 September 1898), p. 8.

[60] Journal of Proceedings of The Fifth General Conference of The Methodist Church, Held in Metropolitan Church, September 1898, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 238.

[61] Ibid.

future. Methodist numerical strength relative to that of the other major churches had also improved in the West. In 1881 Methodism had been the smallest of the four major denominations in the West. In 1901 Methodism was still the smallest of the four in British Columbia and the North-west Territories but was second only to Presbyterianism in more heavily populated Manitoba.[62]

A low point in the Methodist growth rate at the turn of the century coincided with action which led to merger with other denominations. The increase of 19,584 members for the quadrennium ending in 1898 was the lowest since the formation of The Methodist Church.[63] In an address that year, Carman sought to stir Methodism to renewed missionary efforts. The number of workers holding offices, such as clergy, class leaders, trustees, and Sunday school superintendents, had reached 28,615.[64] This was, Carman stated, "surely a great army, if not fallen on the field of dry bones."[65] Whether growth depended on zeal, as Carman suggested, or on other factors, the growth rate of The Methodist Church further decreased in the quadrennium ending in 1902 but then increased for the next two quadrenniums.[66] Since mergers between Methodist groups in Canada had been credited with

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[62] Canada Year Book 1911, pp. 15-20.

[63] "The General Superintendents' Address to the General Conference, 1910," Appendix, Journal of Proceedings, 1910, p. 7.

[64] A. Carman, "Address on the Statistical Growth of Canadian Methodism, 1898," Carman Papers, Box 24, File 14, p. 10.

[65] Ibid.

[66] "General Superintendents' Address," Journal of Proceedings, 1910, p. 7.

effecting missionary expansion,[67] interdenominational merger also implied an augmented mission. But the cost of expanding mission through merger with other denominations would be the loss of a special Methodist emphasis in mission, except as Methodist influence would partly determine the character of the new body. Consideration of interdenominational merger required Methodism to balance the claims of a potentially stronger mission against the claims of a special Methodist existence.

In the merger negotiations the continuing influence of the Methodist movement tradition was clear in Methodism's attachment to "the more spiritual doctrines." The first discussion took place between Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists in 1889 in response to an Anglican overture three years earlier.[68] An interest in broader fellowship had existed in Canadian Anglicanism for some time. The first Lambeth Conference (pan-Anglican), 1867, had been promoted by the Bishop of Ontario and proposals for interdenominational merger in Canada had been voiced at synods since 1880.[69] The initiative at the 1889 meeting was taken by the Anglican delegation which came prepared with position papers and proposals for corporate union. In the opening address John Langtry, Rector of St. Lukes Church, Toronto, appealed for corporate unity on the basis of Jesus' Prayer for unity among his followers, written in John 17.[70] One Presbyterian

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[67] "Methodist Missionary Society, Abstract of General Report, 1884," Carman Papers, Box 3, File 11.

[68] "Report of the Committee on Christian Union," signed by E.B. Ryckman, Journal of Proceedings, 1890, p. 170. The interdenominational meeting took place in the lecture room of Association Hall, Toronto on April 24, 25.

[69] Millman, "Christian Unity," p. 167.

[70] Millman, "Christian Unity," p. 168.

speaker agreed that merger was a theological imperative and none argued against this position.[71] The Methodist speakers alone argued that Jesus' prayer did not require corporate unity and suggested forms of cooperation as the desired alternative. Dr. C. Stewart, principal of the theological department at Mt. Allison, hoped for intercommunion and exchange of pulpits but not corporate unity.[72] With added caution against haste and neglect of doctrinal differences, Sutherland and Dewart basically agreed with Stewart. The Methodist view of merger reflected the continuing influence of its movement origin. While Anglicans saw corporate unity as the way to fellowship, Methodists saw forms of cooperation as the way to corporate unity.

The effect of the 1889 meeting was to lead Methodists and Presbyterians to seek the less threatening alternative of cooperation with each other. The absence of further negotiations with the Anglicans was apparently due to lack of enthusiasm on the part of the participating churches rather than insurmountable doctrinal problems. At the meeting of its Synod later that year Anglicans suggested the resolutions adopted by the Lambeth Conference of 1888 "serve as the preliminary basis for negotiations."[73] These resolutions adopted a fairly broad position on the Bible, creeds, sacraments, and episcopate. Presbyterians thought the Anglican position too broad on the confessions,[74] and Methodists thought the Anglicans were

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[71] Millman, "Christian Unity," p. 169.

[72] Ibid.

[73] "Report on Christian Union," 1890, p. 171

[74] Millman, "Christian Unity, 1889," p. 172.

too restrictive on the episcopate.[75] These differences were relatively minor compared with the areas of agreement but were enough to make Presbyterians and Methodists realize they had more in common with each other. In 1890 the Methodist committee on merger reported to the General Conference that better use of resources would result from cooperation with Presbyterians in the West.[76] Presbyterians in turn discovered they had much in common with Methodists. A member of the Presbyterian delegation to the 1894 General Conference, Principal W. Caven spoke of the unity of faith between Methodists and Presbyterians as a ground of hope for closer union.[77] The expression of these and similar views kept the possibility of merger alive but little progress was made until 1902, when Methodism abandoned its preference for forms of cooperation in place of merger.

The idea of merger was promoted within Methodism by a symposium conducted in the Guardian in 1899. Church leaders had been invited to state what would have to be changed in the Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational churches before union could take place.[78] Congregationalists had replaced Anglicans in the discussion due to greater similarity in worship and organization. The degree of favor with which the Methodist respondents viewed merger paralleled their position on historical criticism. Carman,

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[75]"Report of Committee on Church Union," signed by Albert Carman and S.F. Huestis, Journal of Proceedings, 1890, p. 174.

[76]"Report on Church Union," 1890, p. 172.

[77]E.H. Dewart, "Christian Unity Exemplified," The Christian Guardian, (26 September 1894), p. 609.

[78]"Symposium on Church Union," The Christian Guardian, (1 February, 1899), p. 67.

who was dogmatic in theology, wrote that, except on mission fields, "no great benefit would arise out of union at least for awhile."[79] Moderate critic Shaw thought the Presbyterian church was the only one that Methodism could unite with because their forms of government were mid-way between the congregational and episcopal forms.[80] The most positive respondent on merger was historical critic Burwash, who wrote that modern biblical studies had relegated questions of polity to the realm of common sense.[81] Burwash also credited mission with having brought churches closer together. In a separate article in the same issue of the Guardian, Rev. A.C. Courtice, editor since 1894, reinforced a point made by G.M. Grant that the present divided condition of the churches was not warranted.[82] The old doctrinal distinctions between denominations were unimportant to critical theologians.

The 1902 General Conference got the merger discussions moving again. Interest in merger had by then increased to the point where the committee on church union recommended that the General Conference declare itself in favor of a union of Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists.[83] The committee had based its report on a consideration of three documents:

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[79]"Symposium on Church Union," 1899, p. 73. The other dogmatist in the historical criticism discussion, Dewart was also opposed to merger, "Christian Unity Exemplified," 1894, p. 609.

[80]"Symposium on Church Union," 1899, p. 73.

[81]Ibid.

[82]A.C. Courtice, "Methodist Church and Church Union," The Christian Guardian, (1 February 1899), p. 72. G.M. Grant had written that present differences did "not touch the objects for which a church exists," "Symposium on Church Union," 1899, p. 73.

[83]"Church Union. Report of Committee," signed by William I. Shaw and Frank Denton, Journal of Proceedings, 1902, p. 71.

A portion of the General Superintendent's Address, which drew attention to the needs of the West; a memorial from the Society or Christian Unity, Toronto; and a letter from W. Blair respecting a convention to promote the corporate union of the three denominations. The key argument made by the committee for merger was the need for a stronger mission to the West. Economy of resources, through merger, was said to be necessary "in order to overtake the religious needs of the people pouring into our new settlements."[84] The selection of Winnipeg as the site for the 1902 General Conference, its first meeting outside of central Canada, drew attention to the West and an appeal by a member of the Presbyterian delegation, Principal William Patrick of Manitoba College, added to the enthusiasm for merger. The General Conference passed a resolution which initiated merger negotiations.

Conflict between a special Methodist emphasis and an augmented mission through merger was felt most keenly in the West, where merger was expected to produce the greatest change. Woodsworth and the local superintendents were ambivalent in their response to a November 1902 letter from Sutherland regarding cooperation with Presbyterians. These superintendents basically favored cooperation in principle but expressed reservations in practice. Rev. J.H. White of Nelson, British Columbia was in favor of merger with Presbyterians and as a practical step recommended that only one church be established in new towns, either to be used by both denominations or assigned to one.[85] He also noted the clergy in the area had successfully

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[84] Ibid.

[85] J.H. White, Letter to A. Sutherland, Copy in Carman Papers, Box 19, File 129.

divided the work in the mining camps. Yet White expressed a reservation about Presbyterian piety; Methodists had to do most of "the praying and testifying" in union revival meetings. In his view, Methodists were ahead of Presbyterians "in the possession of a living Christian experience."[86] Revival meetings were not a basic structure of Methodism, but they were probably more compatible with Methodist enthusiasm than with Presbyterian sobriety. White's reservation was reminiscent of the early Methodist mission structure, which permitted or required the members to talk about their faith.

Woodsworth favored cooperation for purposes of efficiency and fellowship but tended to inflate the practical difficulties. Some of these difficulties concerned reluctance among the rank and file. One instance cited was that of Selkirk, Manitoba, where Methodists had had a weak charge fifteen years earlier. The Methodist church was sold and their few members advised to attend the Presbyterian church. Additional Methodists later moved to Selkirk and agitation was started to reopen the Methodist charge. Members wrote letters to Woodsworth which asked: "How is it you have allowed the Catholics to get our church in Selkirk?"[87] Instances like this contributed to Woodsworth's opinion that apportioning territory posed "grave practical difficulties."[88]

The local superintendent most negative about merger was Rev. T.C. Buchanan of Edmonton while the one most eager for merger, Rev. James Allen

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[86] Ibid.

[87] James Woodsworth, Letter to Rev. A. Sutherland, Copy in Carman Papers, Box 19, File 129.

[88] Ibid.

from Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, was not from the West. Buchanan doubted that Presbyterians were willing to cooperate in any large degree "despite Dr. Patrick's utterances." Presbyterian "agitation for cooperation came," Buchanan wrote, "mostly from the East," while the policy in the West was "still Robertsonian."[89] Dr. James Robertson, who had died earlier that year, had been considered uncooperative by some Methodists. In addition Buchanan wrote that Methodism was needed in the West for its moral influence: "Namely to practice total abstinence, labor for prohibition, refrain from dancing and card playing."[90] Neither Buchanan's moral scruples nor his consequent fear of Methodist loss of piety through merger with Presbyterians were shared by Allen. "The two churches are now approaching each other," Allen wrote optimistically, "as Milton makes Eve approach Adam 'with sweet, reluctant, amorous, delay,' and I hope the interval of delay may be lessened by the speedy adoption of cooperation in our mission work."[91] Allen was promoted to superintendent of home missions in 1906, when Sutherland's post was divided into foreign and home missions with Sutherland retaining the former until his death in 1910. This promotion signified support with Methodism for Allen's interest in merger.

Steady progress toward merger followed the resolution of the 1902 General Conference in favor of organic union. Positive response from the Presbyterians and Congregationalists led to a meeting of committees from

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[89] T.C. Buchanan, Letter to A. Sutherland, Copy in Carman Papers, Box 19, File 129.

[90] Ibid.

[91] James Allen, Letter to A. Sutherland, Copy in Carman Papers, Box 19, File 129.

the three denominations in April 1904. By 1908 a Basis of Union acceptable to the three committees had been drafted. The Methodist committee recommended that the 1910 General Conference approve the Basis of Union and that the documents be sent to the conferences, districts, and congregations of The Methodist Church for adoption or rejection.[92] The 1910 General Conference adopted a motion to implement the committee's recommendation,[93] and in 1912 The Methodist Church declared itself ready for merger.[94] The denominational approach of corporate merger had won out over the movement preference for cooperation.

The anticipated merger of three denominations, which together enjoyed the adherence of over 30 per cent of the Canadian population,[95] had considerable missionary potential, but this potential was weakened by the lack of adequate mission goals. The Basis of Union was an attempt to retain as much as possible of the traditions of the merging bodies,[96] rather than an attempt to combine resources to undertake new mission tasks. In the area of education, for instance, institutions comparable to those in central or eastern Canada did not develop in the West. With the exception of Wesley College in Winnipeg, Methodist colleges in the West later closed

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[92]"Report of Committee on Church Union," signed by N. Burwash and W. Cooley, Journal of Proceedings, 1910, pp. 329-330.

[93]Journal of Proceedings, 1910, p. 101.

[94]Grant, Church Union, p. 43.

[95]The religious preference figures in the 1911 census were Methodist 14.47 per cent, Presbyterian 15.48 per cent, and Congregationalist .48 per cent, The Canada Year Book 1927-28, p. 123.

[96]Grant, Church Union, p. 34.

or became theological schools. Columbian College, New Westminster, British Columbia was established in 1893 but discontinued its arts work in 1914. A new theological school, Ryerson College, taught theology in affiliation with the University of British Columbia. Alberta College in Edmonton opened in 1903 but later became a theological school and Regina College, established in 1911, lost its connection with the United Church in 1934 due to financial difficulty.[97] With the exception of Manitoba College in Winnipeg, the Presbyterians confined themselves to the establishment of a theological school in each province. Even in Winnipeg, where the denominational colleges were stronger, an attempt to merge the Methodist and Presbyterian colleges in 1913 failed for lack of support from Methodists in Manitoba.[98] A key reason why merger did not result in strong educational institutions in the West is that they were not a priority in merger discussions. If Anglicans, with their more denominational tradition, had continued in the merger discussions, a more comprehensive mission may have developed.

Where it concentrated its efforts, in the establishment of missions and congregations, the mission of The Methodist Church to the West was effective. The scattered settlements and growing cities were adequately served. Some extended circuits, like the one at Gleichen, Alberta, required one missionary to serve as many as nine points, but the number of people involved did not require the services of more than one missionary. The cities were equally well supplied. By 1891 Methodism had three churches and a Chinese mission in New Westminster, which then had a

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[97]Masters, Church Colleges, pp. 166, 167, 204, 205.

[98]Masters, Church Colleges, p. 157.

population of about 9,000.[99] In Victoria, which had a population of about 25,000, there were four Methodist churches, one serving Indians and one serving Chinese. The largest of the four Methodist churches in Victoria, the Pandora Street Church, "in appearance like the Sherbourne Street Methodist Church, Toronto," could seat 1,500 people.[100] The ratio of Methodist clergy to membership in the West also suggests that the West was adequately served. In 1902 Methodism in the West had 326 clergymen serving its 28,508 members, or one clergyman for every ninety members.[101] At this time the Toronto Conference had one clergyman for every 147 members and the Bay of Quinte Conference had one clergyman for every 175 members.[102] Methodist impact on the West was less than its continuing impact on Ontario but was still significant. At the end of the heaviest decade of settlement, in 1911 Methodism was back in fourth place among the denominations in the West, but enjoyed the adherence of 15 per cent of the population of the West.[103]

Methodist roots as a movement influenced the mission of The Methodist Church to the West. The Methodist Church placed more emphasis on the missionary going to the people than did the other denominations. The work

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[99] T.W. Glover, "British Columbia," The Christian Guardian, (4 February 1891), p. 67.

[100] T.W. Glover, "British Columbia," The Christian Guardian, (11 February 1891), p. 82.

[101] Calculated from figures given in Journal of Proceedings, 1910, pp. 147, 152-159.

[102] Ibid.

[103] In 1911 the population of the West was 1,720,402, Canada Year Book 1921, p. 98; 260,713 of these were adherents of The Methodist Church, Canada Year Book 1927-28, p. 101.

of some Methodist missionaries conducting services in section houses and farm houses along a hundred miles of railway contrasts readily with the Roman Catholic development of self-contained communities served by lay and ordained orders. When Roman Catholic priests visited remote points, they usually worked out of one of these communities. Anglicans and Presbyterians were also more likely to be tied to a central base, even if only a church and manse, then were the Methodists. The role of the missionary as the Methodist priority was further expressed in the overseas recruitment of men rather than money. When Anglicans wanted to expand their work in the West their first step was to raise funds to establish new episcopates; to Methodists the way to expand was to send out more missionaries. While Canadian Methodism was the most financially independent of the four major denominations, Woodsworth made several trips to Britain to recuit men. Methodist movement tradition exerted an influence on the merger discussions as well. The position, taken only by the Methodists, that merger was not a theological imperative grew out of Methodism's traditional emphasis on the "more spiritual doctrines." Also reflective of the continuing movement influence was the opinion that Methodism had more in common with Presbyterianism than with its more comprehensive parent, Anglicanism.

But the mission of The Methodist Church to the West was primarily that of a denomination. While the circuit rider had followed the settlers into the earlier frontiers of the United States and British North America, The Methodist Church preceded the settlers into the West and began to develop permanent structures. Prior to extensive new settlement Methodism formed a conference in the West, appointed a superintendent of missions, and established a college. In the growing cities this church repeated the

denominational pattern of establishing permanent and, where possible, substantial congregations it had used in Toronto. Methodism was not as denominational as Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism, who established episcopates out in what became Alberta in 1871 and 1872 respectively, but it basically depended on denominational structures. Though later settlement was rapid and extensive, the high ratio of clergy to membership in the West suggests The Methodist Church continued to develop ahead of settlement. Methodist acceptance of corporate merger as the way to fellowship, a reversal of its earlier preference for cooperation, also indicated a denominational character and outlook. Merger, a threat to the special interest of a movement, advanced the comprehensive interests of a denomination.

WELFARE

By 1884 Canadian Methodism had been providing higher education for forty-three years but was only beginning to provide welfare services. Late entry into welfare work was not consistent with Methodist tradition which had always included collections for the poor. In eighteenth century England, Wesley had used these funds to form relief agencies called Strangers' Friend Societies, and to employ women in knitting.[1] But in Canada institutions designed to provide welfare services were late in being developed. On the frontier the itinerant had shared rather than alleviated the hardships of the settler, and in the growing towns and cities Methodist interest had concentrated on the multiplication of congregations to the neglect of a more comprehensive mission.

The less industrial character of Canada and Protestant choice of interests contributed to the late entry of Canadian Methodism into welfare work. In 1871 half of the labour force were engaged in some kind of farming and four-fifths of the population lived in rural areas.[2] In this

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[1] Maldwyn Edwards, John Wesley And The Eighteenth Century. A Study of His Social and Political Influence, (London: The Epworth Press, 1955), pp. 152-153.

[2] John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic. An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 137.

environment industrial problems of unemployment, wages, and housing were relatively new and response to them was only beginning to extend to organized activity. Labour, for instance, had pressed for legislation in its interest in Britain and the United States in the 1840's but was only getting under way in Canada in 1885, when its first permanent organization, the Trades and Labour Congress, was formed.[3] Protestant choice of interests also contributed to Methodism's late entry into welfare work. Anglicanism and Presbyterianism, as well as Methodism, engaged in higher education in Canada much earlier than in welfare. Roman Catholicism was notably more comprehensive in its interests and preceded the other bodies into welfare work in Canada by more than two centuries. The earliest Roman Catholic efforts in welfare were a hospital and a convent established in Quebec City in the late 1630's, by the nuns of Dieppe and the Ursuline sisters respectively.[4] If Bishop J. Strachan had attempted to assert Anglican control over welfare rather than higher education in Upper Canada, the resulting Protestant competition to provide welfare services would undoubtedly have been a great boon to the poor.

When Canadian Methodism began to engage in welfare work, it did so as an extension of missionary work. The Crosby Girls Home at Port Simpson, British Columbia began about 1875 when Indian girls started coming to the mission there run by Rev. and Mrs. Thomas Crosby, reportedly to avoid being

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[3]H.A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada: Their Development and Functioning, (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1948), p. 2.

[4]Walsh, Church in Canada, pp. 38-39.

sold by their parents.[5] Another early Methodist welfare institution, the McDougall Memorial Orphanage at Morley, Alberta, was established in 1882 in memory of Rev. George McDougall, who had served for sixteen years as a missionary in the West.[6] Welfare was also an extension of mission in the work of The Woman's Missionary Society, organized in 1881 to relieve the general missionary society of some of its educational and social activity.[7] The Woman's Missionary Society engaged in both missionary and welfare activities. At its second annual meeting the society appropriated its budget to these causes: support for two missionaries in Japan, plus their native assistants, and aid to a proposed school in Japan to provide education for women, $2000.00; French work $600.88; McDougall Orphanage $200.00; and Crosby Girls Home $800.00.[8] The largest portion of this society's budget continued to be expended on work in Japan.[9] As an extension of missionary work these welfare projects had only limited resources, but mission must be credited with providing the point of contact.

The movement influence in Canadian Methodism was apparent in the

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[5]Stephenson, Hundred Years, p. 179.

[6]Stephenson, Hundred Years, p. 104.

[7]H.L. Platt, The Story of The Years. A History of The Woman's Missionary Society of The Methodist Church, Canada, from 1881 to 1906, (1906), Vol. 1, p. 17.

[8]"Minutes of The Second Annual Meeting of The Woman's Missionary Society of The Methodist Church of Canada, October 24th and 25th, 1883," held in the lecture room of Dominion Square Church, Montreal, in Woman's Missionary Society Reports 1881-1890, United Church Archives, Victoria University, p. 6.

[9]The society's expenditures for the year ending in 1899 were $27,261. for Japan, $4,775. for Indian work, $4,862. for China, "Woman's Missionary Society Report," The Canadian Methodist Magazine, (November 1899), p. 473.

location of these first welfare institutions. They did not develop in centers of Methodist strength, like Toronto, but in new mission areas where Methodism faced special educational, linguistic, or social problems. The development of welfare institutions was initially an adjustment to meet difficult circumstances rather than a thrust inherent in Canadian Methodism's assumed task. While the location of these institutions was due to movement influence, their very existence signified a denominational approach to welfare.

The Methodist Church markedly increased its participation in welfare services about 1890, when it began to develop city missions and a diaconate. Like the earlier welfare institutions the city missions developed out of a missionary contact. The city missions were started by a few individuals in response to local needs and were expanded as their base of support broadened to include congregations and missionary societies. The two best known missions, the Fred Victor Mission in Toronto and All Peoples' Mission in Winnipeg, grew out of Sunday school classes among non-members begun in 1886 and 1889 respectively.[10] The establishment of the diaconate followed provision made by the 1890 General Conference. The work of the city missions and that of the diaconate was similar and several deaconesses were employed in the missions.

Presbyterians began city mission work a few years earlier than Methodists, but Methodists soon had comparable if not stronger missions. The first Presbyterian mission was St. Andrew's Institute which developed out

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[10]"These Twenty Years 1886-1906. The Growth and Work of the Fred Victor Mission," annual report and review of the work, copy in Fred Victor archives, p. 4. Rev. T.E. Morden, "The All Peoples' Mission," The Christian Guardian, (26 July 1899), p. 467.

of St. Andrew's congregation, the mother of Old Kirk congregations in Toronto. The institute began in 1870 with a Sunday school class and seven years later added evening classes for boys who did not attend day school and a Penny Savings Bank.[11] In 1890 the institute moved to its first permanent facility, a four-story brick building that housed recreational, social, and educational activities.[12] The Fred Victor Mission developed out of Metropolitan congregation and moved to its first permanent facility in 1894. In addition to the usual city mission activities, the five-story brick building included a school of household science.[13] The city missions in Canada during the 1890's are said to have "reflected ventures pioneered" in Britain and the United States in the 1880's.[14] Outside influence no doubt existed, but the Canadian city missions of the 1890's were also products of indigenous development.

A denominational feature only recently enlarged in Canadian Methodism but vital to its city mission work was participation by the laity. Methodist city missions grew out of work done by laity and were largely staffed by them. The Fred Victor building was itself the gift of a layman.

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[11] J.F. McCurdy (ed.), Life and Work of D.J. Macdonnell, Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto with a Selection of Sermons and Prayers, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), pp. 288-291.

[12] McCurdy, Life of Macdonnell, p. 301.

[13] "Fred Victor Mission Society of The Methodist Church, Toronto," (1900), United Church Archives, Victoria University, p. 32. The Fred Victor Mission still functions on the corner of Queen and Jarvis streets, now in a new building constructed in 1960. The current program includes a home for sixty-nine retired men, a clothing department that distributes 2,500-3,000 items a month, an employment service for youth, and worship services Sunday morning and evening.

[14] Richard Allen, The Social Passion. Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 11.

Hart A. Massey provided the building in memory of his late son, Fred Victor, who had been a volunteer at the mission.[15] Laity, of course, were prominent in the welfare work of the other major bodies. The men's association at St. Andrew's congregation were active in the funding and work of the institute and speakers at its opening included Sir Daniel Wilson, President of the University of Toronto, and Goldwin Smith.[16] Anglicans did not yet have city missions in Canada but did have a small order of nuns that did hospital, educational, and social work. The order, The Sisters of St. John the Divine, had been founded in Toronto in 1884 by Hannah Coome, a widow.[17] In addition to its orders of women, Roman Catholicism had lay brothers who did practical work in Catholic communities.[18]

In its new building the work of Fred Victor Mission expanded under the direction of its first full-time staff. In 1898 the full-time staff numbered four and two years later the number had increased to eight. The work of the full-time staff was augmented by that of volunteers. The staff in 1900 consisted of a clergyman, six deaconesses, and an instructor in household science.[19] Rev. T.E. Shore was the superintendent, a position

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[15]Numerous Methodist and other institutions benefited from gifts from the Massey family. In 1900 Wesley College received a $100,000. bequest from H.A. Massey for endowment, "Report of The Board of Directors of Wesley College," Appendix, Minutes of Conferences 1900, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), p. 412. The Fred Victor building cost $60,000. to construct.

[16]McCurdy, Life of Macdonnell, p. 302.

[17]Gilbert Roxburgh, "Nun in habit? She's Anglican," The Globe and Mail, Toronto, (20 November 1971), p. 32. Today there are sixty nuns in the order and eight novitiates, Ibid.

[18]Morice, Catholic Church, p. 115.

[19]"Fred Victor Mission Society," (1900), p. 1.

that consisted of religious and administrative functions. The work of the deaconesses was both practical and religious as well. The nurse deaconess, Miss L. Brown, visited the homes of mothers with babies, where her functions could include cleaning the house, caring for a sick member of the family, and offering prayer. Another deaconess, Miss E. Ariss, had been assigned to work with young women who were thought to face moral danger in the city from insufficient salaries, drinking, and dancing. The other deaconesses were employed two each in children's work and in visiting. The eighth employee, Miss H. Norris was principal of the School of Household Science.[20]

The earliest and most substantial of the other Methodist missions was All Peoples' Mission in Winnipeg. There were four other missions, two in Montreal, one more in Toronto, and one in Belleville. All Peoples' Mission developed out of McDougall Methodist Church, and purchased its old building in 1893 when the congregation built a new one. The old McDougall church was moved to a rented lot near the Canadian Pacific Railway station, where the mission oriented itself to new immigrants. On the side of the building facing the railway waiting room, the name of the mission, A House of Prayer for All People, was lettered in eight languages: English, German, French, Icelandic, Swedish, Polish, Italian, and Dutch. With the support of Winnipeg congregations, the mission distributed food, clothing, and fuel relief and attempted to find employment for women.[21] With its later expansion into additional facilities, All Peoples' Mission became more

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[20]"Fred Victor Mission Society," (1900), pp. 18, 32, 34.

[21]Morden, "All Peoples'," p. 467.

decentralized than the Fred Victor Mission, but its program and staff were soon of comparable strength.[22] The linguistic diversity of its constituency and the lack of a Massey family to provide it with a central building probably contributed to the decentralization of All Peoples' Mission.

Though most of the work at All Peoples' Mission was done in the English language, some services were provided in other languages. From the beginning German was spoken to some extent in the Sunday school and other languages were used when the linguistic abilities of the workers permitted. For a while a reading room was kept open with newspapers in several languages. In 1904 an Austrian-born Protestant, Rev. J.V. Kovar was employed to hold worship services in German, Slavic, and Bohemian. Another Austrian-born worker, Miss Kochella held foreign language Sunday school classes.[23] The complexion of the children enrolled in kindergarten and industrial classes at All Peoples' Mission in 1909 was illustrative of the diverse population then being served. The "nationalities" of the 707 children enrolled in these classes were British 154, Canadian fifty-seven, American two, Polish 148, German 127, Jewish 109, Russian thirty-seven, Syrian twenty-three, Danish two, Slovakian two, Icelandic one, Negroid one,

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[22]In 1908 the staff at All Peoples' Mission consisted of James S. Woodsworth, three deaconesses, two kindergarten teachers and two assistants, two Polish students at Wesley College, and two theology students training for "foreign work at home," "All Peoples' Mission, Winnipeg, Report 1907-1908," Appendix No. 4, James S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians, (Toronto: The Missionary Society of The Methodist Church, 1909), p. 319.

[23]George Neil Emery, "Methodism on The Canadian Prairies, 1896 to 1914: The Dynamics of an Institution in a new Environment," Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1970, p. 233.

Ruthenian twenty-seven, Roumanian six, and Swedish five.[24]

The importance to the community of the kindergarten and industrial classes provided by All Peoples' Mission was increased by the fact that nearly half of the children enrolled in them did not attend a regular day-school.[25] Some of the children not attending day-school were kept at home to care for smaller children while the mother worked; some of the children were employed outside the home; others wandered about the streets. In one home a boy aged fourteen and a girl aged eleven supported the family.[26] The classes at All Peoples' Mission provided one of the few opportunities for the development of skills in which these children participated.

The work of the city missions was limited by the inadequate support they received from The Methodist Church.[27] While nineteen Methodist congregations in Toronto were supporting Fred Victor Mission by 1900, their combined financial contribution that year was only $3,853.35.[28] Indirectly these congregations gave further support to the city missions through missionary and other organizations but the amount of support was still

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[24]"All Peoples' Mission, Winnipeg. Report 1908-1909," Appendix No. 4, Woodsworth, Strangers, p. 329.

[25]Only 344 of the 707 children enrolled in these classes attended public school, another thirty attended Catholic Separate Schools and eleven attended German Lutheran schools, Ibid. Public school attendance was not then required in Manitoba.

[26]"All Peoples' Mission, Winnipeg. Report 1908-1909," p. 330.

[27]Community support was even more cautious; in 1908-1909 All Peoples' Mission received a grant of $500.00 from the Winnipeg City Council. "All Peoples' Mission, Winnipeg. Report 1908-1909," p. 331. This may have been the first city grant, as one was not listed among the sources of support in the annual report for the previous year.

[28]"Fred Victor Mission Society," (1900), p. 37.

modest compared to that given to other interests. While the city missions operated on annual budgets of a few thousand dollars each, funds were raised throughout The Methodist Church to reduce the half-million dollar debt at St. James Church in Montreal.[29] St. James had incurred the debt through relocation in 1889. The city missions enjoyed a slightly more adequate basis of support after the 1906 General Conference provided for the formation of city mission boards.

Though their resources were limited, the city missions provided a variety of social services and stimulated interest in welfare in church and community. Rev. James S. Woodsworth, Superintendent of All Peoples' Mission, 1907-1913, described his work as that of business manager, promoter, publicity agent, collector, clerk, and messenger boy all rolled into one.[30] Through correspondence, articles in the press, addresses, and publications, Woodsworth kept the work of All Peoples' Mission before the church and community. Beyond his immediate work as Superintendent, Woodsworth sought to improve welfare conditions in Winnipeg by serving on community committees such as the Council of Associated Charities, the Children's Aid, and the Playgrounds Association.

The founding of city missions was the product of denominational interest, but their limited resources reflected a continuing movement influence. This movement influence can be illustrated by the difference between city missions in Canada and the institutional churches that developed in the United States during the 1880's. The city missions developed out of

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[29] Rev. W. Harrison, "The Finest Church in Methodism," The Canadian Methodist Magazine, (December 1899), p. 564.

[30] "All Peoples' Mission. Report 1907-1908," p. 341.

congregations but soon became separate institutions. McDougall church, for example, provided some assistance to All Peoples' Mission but evidently did not consider the work of the mission sufficiently its business to make its new building a city mission rather than a regular congregation. Canadian Presbyterians shared with Methodists the policy of doing city mission work in a separate facility. This policy made the city missions into poor cousins of the congregations and, in the absence of other adequate resources, retarded their development. The institutional congregations in the United States, by contrast, made mission their main business and developed their program around it. The industrial education and philanthropic program of St. George's Episcopal Church on the East Side of New York was an outstanding but not isolated example. Congregationalists, Baptists, and somewhat later Methodists also had institutional churches. Between 1883 and 1889, St. George's congregation spent over two million dollars for philanthropic purposes.[31] A spectacular increase in membership, from 200 to 4,000, during these years, indicated popular support for St. George's work. While the institutional churches represented the denominational approach to welfare, the city missions were a compromise with movement influence. The founding of city missions allowed congregations to concentrate on the ideological task of preaching and teaching while institutional welfare work was supported by a special offering one Sunday each year or otherwise treated as something apart from the main business of the church.

In addition to city missions, The Methodist Church established a diaconate to do welfare work. An institution used by several denominations,

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[31] Olmstead, Religion, p. 484.

the diaconate employed persons, usually women, for social and religious services. In the early centuries of the church, the diaconate had admitted men and women to an office that included preaching, teaching, and the administration of baptism and alms.[32] But during the Middle Ages the diaconate had largely been replaced by religious orders.

The diaconate expanded again in the nineteenth century, through the efforts of Theodore Fliedner, Pastor at the village of Kaiserwerth, Germany. Fliedner had been impressed by the work of Mennonite deaconesses among the poor in Holland and by the work of Elizabeth Fry among prisoners in England. He began to work among prisoners and others in his community and soon saw a need for the assistance of nurses. In 1836 Fliedner and a few friends drew up the statutes for a deaconess society and Gertrude Rerchard, the daughter of a physician, became its first deaconess.[33] Nursing has continued to be a main task of the revived diaconate. The work spread to other countries with Fliedner's personal assistance. He installed deaconesses in the German hospital in London, England in 1846 and three years later accompanied four deaconesses to Pittsburg, where work was begun in America. Preparation for the latter work had been made by Rev. W.A. Passavant, pastor of English Lutheran Church in Pittsburg, who secured property for a home and hospital. The Lutheran Synod gave the new work partial endorsement, awaiting "with deep interest the result of the work."[34]

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[32] Handbook of The Deaconess Order of The United Church of Canada, The Committee on the Deaconess Order and Women Workers, Mrs. W.J. Campion, B.A., Secretary, Room 506, 299 Queen St. West, Toronto, Ontario, (n. d.), p. 5.

[33] Rev. Henry Wheeler, Deaconesses Ancient and Modern, (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1889), pp. 173-177.

[34] Wheeler, Deaconesses, p. 236.

When Fliedner died in 1864 there were 1,600 deaconesses at work in Europe, Asia, Britain, and America.

Methodist deaconess work in the United States grew out of The Chicago Training School for City, Home and Foreign Missions, founded in 1885 to provide special training for women. At the close of the second year of operation about ten students indicated they were willing to stay for the summer and continue the practical work that had been part of their training. The school provided the workers with accommodation during the summer and that fall a deaconess home was opened in a rented flat with two women forming the nucleus. The 1888 General Conference made provision for the order and a year later homes were opened in New York, Boston, and Minneapolis.[35] The work expanded rapidly and Methodists soon surpassed Lutherans and Anglicans in the use of this institution. By 1900 the Methodist Episcopal Church was operating seventy-three deaconess homes.[36] A graduate of the Chicago Deaconess Home, Miss Thompson, became the first superintendent of deaconess work in Toronto.[37]

In Canada, the 1890 General Conference of The Methodist Church provided for the establishment of a diaconate. In providing for this new welfare institution Canadian Methodists preceded Anglicans and Presbyterians, who did not make similar provision until 1893 and 1908 respectively,[38] but were much later than Roman Catholics, whose charitable orders

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[35]Lucy Rider Meyer, Deaconesses and Their Work: Biblical, Early Church, European, American, (Chicago: The Deaconess Advocate, 1897), unpaginated.

[36]Olmestead, Religion, p. 486.

[37]Meyer, Deaconesses.

[38]McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 149.

did similar work.[39] The earlier entry of Roman Catholicism into charitable work was consistent with its more comprehensive approach to mission generally. In 1894 the Toronto Conference of The Methodist Church organized the Toronto Deaconess Aid Society to support the work of the diaconate, and a few months later a Deaconess Home and Training School was opened at 28 McGill Street. The school later moved to 257 Jarvis Street and in 1911 to a spacious building at 135 St. Clair Avenue.[40]

At the Deaconess Home and Training School in Toronto, candidates for the diaconate spent part of each day in practical work and the remainder in study. Those preparing to become nurses did their practical work in hospitals; the others visited homes and provided food and clothing relief. The 1897 report of the Deaconess Home and Training School indicated the deaconesses and candidates had made, during the past year, 1,434 visits to the sick, 5,595 house calls, had given away 550 baskets of food and 1,473 garments, and had spent $229.25 in relief to distressed persons.[41] Deaconess candidates preparing to become nurses read physiology and theology

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[39]One Roman Catholic order, the Sisters of Charity of Montreal grew from work begun by Mme d'Youville, a young widow who ran a store on the first floor of her home in the Market Place in Montreal. Assisted by other women, she started to help the poor sometimes with gifts of money. In 1747 they took over an old hospital, and later became chiefly a hospital order, H.H. Walsh, The Church in The French Era. From Colonization to The British Conquest, (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), pp. 195-197.

[40]Handbook, p. 6.

[41]"Board of Management of Deaconess Home," in "Minutes of The Proceedings of The Fourteenth Session of The Toronto Annual Conference of The Methodist Church, Held in The Carlton Street Church, Toronto, From June 10th to June 16th, 1897, p. 57, Minutes of Conferences, 1897, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897).

the first year, while the others read mainly theology. During the second and final year all candidates read theology, history, and physiology. Theological works read included Life of Paul by Stalker, Life of John Wesley by Watson, and Women of Methodism by Abel Stevens.[42] The course included lectures on both practical and study subjects given by Methodist lay and clerical leaders, especially Victoria University faculty members. The entire course was also open to missionaries and to women who simply wished to increase their skills.

In 1904, ten years after the work had begun, there were about twenty deaconesses working in congregations, city missions, and other institutions of The Methodist Church. One deaconess was employed in each of ten congregations, five in Toronto, two in Hamilton, and one in each of London, Montreal and St. John's, Newfoundland.[43] Except for the congregation in Newfoundland, which employed a nurse deaconess, the congregations employed deaconesses mainly for visiting, a task that may not have fully utilized their training. The nine deaconesses employed in city missions or related work were challenged with a much greater diversity of tasks. At the Fred Victor Mission one deaconess was employed as a nurse, one taught home and garden skills to children, and one visited the Union Station to aid travellers. In work related to that of the city missions, deaconesses ran a summer camp at Whitby, Ontario, which had provided a vacation of ten days

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[42] "First Annual Report of The Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School of The Methodist Church, 28 McGill Street, Toronto, 1894-1895," (Toronto: William Briggs, 1895), p. 10.

[43] "Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School of The Methodist Church, Tenth Annual Report, 1903-1904," (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House), pp. 9, 24.

or longer for 525 children and 160 mothers.[44] The deaconesses employed in other Methodist institutions included the superintendent of the Hamilton Deaconess Home and two others, one a nurse, employed by the Methodist Orphanage in Newfoundland. Though the deaconesses were not numerous,[45] they assisted many persons with the limited resources available to them.

The use of deaconesses in The Methodist Church was an expression of denominational interest in welfare but movement tradition influenced the character of this institution. Canadian Methodism's model was the diaconate of primative Christianity, which had a less formal character than the later Roman Catholic orders. In apparent distinction from the permanent and established nature of a Roman Catholic order, the Methodist diaconate was not to require vows, uniform dress, or life-long service.[46] These stipulations were consistent with Methodism's traditional priority on spiritual things over material structures. In contrast to a Roman Catholic nun who committed herself to the work of an order for life, a Methodist deaconess was likely to be a young woman doing practical Christian work for a few years until the right marriage proposal came along.

Yet the denominational emphasis was clear not only in the existence of the diaconate but in the way it was organized. The training program

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[44] "Deaconess Home, 1903-1904," p. 10.

[45] When the United Church was formed in 1925 there were about one hundred deaconesses in the Methodist and Presbyterian bodies. The order was continued and since 1955 their training has taken place at the Christian Studies Centre at 77 Charles St. West, Handbook, p. 7. The role of the diaconate has not been fully developed, however; deaconesses seem to be in demand only during times of religious expansion, when there is a shortage of clergy.

[46] Handbook, p. 6. A uniform was later worn.

for this new work was notably more centralized than training for Methodist clergy had been only about fifty years earlier. The itinerants had lived with the people and read on the job, or as Sutherland wrote with approval, they were trained "not for but in the ministry."[47] Except for their practical work which took them into the community, deaconess candidates lived in an institution and were trained for the diaconate. As a result of having been initiated by the General Conference, the diaconate of The Methodist Church was also more centralized than its counterpart at this time in England. In England deaconesses were working as a free movement with the Wesleyan church.[48] In Canadian Methodism deaconesses were certified by a Board of Management and were then formally appointed to posts by the conference concerned.[49]

The diaconate and the city missions of The Methodist Church combined religious and social services. The nurse deaconesses were said to carry with them healing "both physical and spiritual,"[50] and other deaconess activity was described as practical Christian work. At the Fred Victor Mission, the aim of the Thursday afternoon mother's meeting was "to give them a pleasant, sociable afternoon and at the same time help them spiritually."[51] About ninety women, some of whom came from homes consisting of

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[47]Alexander Sutherland, "Some Distinctive Features of Wesleyan Theology," The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, ed. Rev. Samuel G. Phillips, (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1875), p. 397.

[48]Meyer, Deaconesses. Free movement here means activity not formally related to the church.

[49]"General Rules for Deaconess Work," in "First Annual Report, 1894-1895," p. 7.

[50]"Twenty Years, 1886-1906," p. 9.

[51]"Fred Victor Mission," (1900), p. 19.

only one room, attended these meetings. The afternoon consisted of conversation, in groups of ten or twelve with the worker who visited them in their homes, sale of used clothing, tea and cake, a Bible reading or address of fifteen to twenty minutes.[52] All of the departments of the mission were similarly intended to contribute to "the development of a whole Christian life among the people."[53] In this development the practical work was considered to be of value in itself, however, and the Christian life was understood to be a broader term than Methodism. This broader religious outlook made it possible for many Jews and Catholics to participate in city mission activities.[54] The Junior Boy's Club at the Fred Victor Mission consisted of thirty-five or forty members, fifteen of whom were Roman Catholic, two Jewish, and the remainder Protestant. Superintendent Shore wrote of this club, "though we do not seek there directly to change their religion, we have already noticed a marked improvement in their manners and morals" and it was hoped some of them would become "useful Christian boys."[55] In this integration of religious and social services Methodism resembled Roman Catholic (and Jewish) corporateness rather than Presbyterian independence. Through dress and calling members of a Roman Catholic order played a religious role even when doing secular work.

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[52] Ibid. Other workers entertained the children of these women at a meeting held concurrently.

[53] "Fred Victor Mission," (1900), p. 11.

[54] All Peoples' Mission had 109 Jews and 234 Roman Catholics enrolled in its childrens classes, "All Peoples' Mission, Winnipeg. Report 1908-1909," p. 329.

[55] "Fred Victor Mission," (1900), p. 16.

Presbyterians offered only social services at St. Andrew's Institute.[56] This policy, consistent with the more independent role Presbyterians chose in higher education, separated religious and secular activity.

Welfare work done by the city missions and the diaconate was supplemented with that of a few other Methodist institutions. The Methodist Church ran Indian industrial schools at Brandon, Red Deer, and Chilliwack. The school at Chilliwack, called the Coqualeetza Institute, taught sewing, carpentry, dairying, and shoe making in addition to regular school classes.[57] Sources of support for this institute included the Woman's Missionary Society, which provided workers,[58] and the federal government, whose $140.00 per capita grants covered most of the operating costs.[59] A hospital was added to the mission and orphanage at Port Simpson in 1892,[60] and eight years later The Missionary Society authorized the appointment of two medical missionaries to work among the Ukrainians in Manitoba.[61] In medical work Methodism was more advanced than Presbyterianism,[62] but did

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[56] McCurdy, Macdonnell, p. 307.

[57] "Seventh Annual Report of The Woman's Missionary Society of The Methodist Church, Canada, 1897-98," Woman's Missionary Society Reports 1892-98, United Church Archives, Victoria University, p. 29.

[58] Ibid.

[59] "General Board of Missions, 1894," p. 59.

[60] Stephenson, Hundred Years, p. 199.

[61] "General Board of Missions of The Methodist Church, Canada," meetings in Kingston, Ontario, Oct. 4-10, 1900, Board Minutes, 1893-1900, United Church Archives, Victoria University, p. 368.

[62] The first Presbyterian hospital in Canada was built at Atlin in the Klondike in 1900, McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 145.

not rival the work being done by Roman Catholicism. Writing in support of a hospital for a Ukrainian community at Pakan, Alberta in 1907, an Edmonton layman wrote that Roman Catholics had "a monopoly of the hospital business" in northern Alberta and that Methodists were behind the times in "this practical branch of Christian work."[63]

While The Methodist Church was developing welfare institutions, its interest in broader aspects of welfare was also increasing. Some individuals and committees advocated forms of public ownership or public provision of services as a means of providing greater equality of wealth and opportunity. W.A. Douglas adopted Henry George's idea of a single tax on land as a way of putting income derived from increased land value into the public treasury.[64] Full public ownership was favored by Rev. William Frizzell in a theological union lecture to the Toronto Ministerial Association. In this form of socialization, Frizzell wrote, "the production and distribution of wealth were carried out by the state and not by private companies."[65] Public provision of services, a measure less drastic than public ownership, was recommended by the Committee on Social Questions in its 1898 report to the General Conference. For the 1898 report Dewart

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[63]Dr. H.R. Smith, Letter to Rev. James Allen, April 3, 1907, Home Mission Reports, United Church Archives, Toronto, cited by G.N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among The Ukrainians," Alberta Historical Review, Volume 19, (Spring 1971), p. 12. The example of Roman Catholicism also challenged Presbyterianism to do hospital work. Roman Catholics were said to be successful in the North and the Salvation Army unsuccessful because the former had hospitals, McNeill, Presbyterian Church, p. 145.

[64]W.A. Douglas, "Human Rights and Social Duties," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, (April 1891), p. 184.

[65]Rev. William Frizzell, "Practical Aspects of Present Day Socialism," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, (April 1892), p. 176.

was chairman and Salem Bland was secretary. The report urged public provision of parks, libraries, baths, and gymnasiums.[66] In general it advocated public provision of services that tended to equalize the life of rich and poor. The report, tabled without discussion at the conference, did not represent the position of The Methodist Church, but it did reflect a growing interest in public services within that body.

The broader aspect of welfare in which Canadian Methodists became most specific was support for labor. Examples from England and the United States were cited to show that Methodists could work with labor. In England the Liverpool Trades Union Congress had elected a Methodist clergyman to its highest office.[67] In the United States a book on the Pullman Strike favorable to the strikers had been written by the local Methodist clergyman.[68] In 1891, Dewart supported the eight-hour day as a means of securing "physical, moral, and intellectual benefits" for workmen.[69] The usual work day then in Canada was ten hours during a six-day week.[70] A shorter work-day had been very cautiously endorsed by a Royal Commission two years earlier. "Your Commissioners believe," they wrote, "the ordinary

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[66]"Report of the Committee on Social Questions," Journal of Proceedings, 1898, p. 323.

[67]Rev. J.W. Dickinson, "The Opportunity of Christianity," The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, (April 1891), p. 211.

[68]E.H. Dewart, "Light on the Pullman Strike," The Christian Guardian, (29 August 1894), p. 515.

[69]E.H. Dewart, "The Eight-Hour System," The Christian Guardian, (22 April 1891), p. 249.

[70]Report of The Royal Commission on The Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, (Ottawa: Printed for The Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1889), pp. 37-38.

working day may be still further reduced with advantage to workmen and without injury or injustice to employers.[71] Dewart took a much stronger position in support of a shorter work day than had the commission. An eight-hour day would, he asserted, make the worker "more of a man and less of a working animal."[72] He further cited the example of Victoria, Australia where the eight-hour day had been in use for twenty-five years without having a negative effect on wages or production. Dewart was, however, cautious about the means appropriate to bring about the eight-hour day. He preferred legislation resulting from full discussion and supporting public opinion and warned against a "threatening attitude" on the part of workers. In Dewart's position denominational interest in the unity of society took precedence over the attachment to a special cause characteristic of a movement.

The first direct institutional support for labor within The Methodist Church came in 1899, when the Toronto Conference passed a resolution in support of Grand Trunk Railway trackmen then on strike. The resolution asserted that "wages and the conditions of their labor heretofore prevailing are such as men should not be asked to receive and endure."[73] The trackmen were being paid only ninety-eight cents a day. During debate of the resolution, these arguments were expressed against it: the church's task was "personal regeneration" not institutional action; the church should not meddle in affairs it did not understand; and many Canadians

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[71] Royal Commission on Labor, p. 9.

[72] Dewart, "The Eight-Hour System," p. 249.

[73] "Sympathy with G.T.R. Trackmen," The Christian Guardian, (21 June 1899), p. 3.

were living on ninety-eight cents a day. Dewart was among those who spoke against the resolution. "It is all right to preach purity, humanity, justice, and kindness," he said, "but then we must depend upon the people to carry out these principles in their different spheres of life."[74] Dewart's position here provides an interesting contrast to his position on university federation where he favored institutional action by The Methodist Church in a public area. The more denominational position on university federation may have been due to Dewart's greater acquaintance with education. Arguments expressed for the resolution were that the railway could afford to pay the men $1.25 a day, and that the law of supply and demand was not one of God's commandments. Those who spoke for the resolution included Rev. J.D. Fitzpatrick and Rev. Elliott S. Rowe. Fitzpatrick came from a congregation "full of railway people" and later became superintendent of Fred Victor Mission.[75] Rowe, who proposed the resolution, received a supporting telegram from the Quarterly Official Board of his congregation during the course of the debate.[76] In the case of these two men interest in welfare and contact with an area of need probably reinforced each other. The resolution represented support for workmen in a given instance rather than a special attachment to one segment of society.

In The Methodist Church interest in social change was an extension, not a repudiation, of interest in individual change. The 1898 report of

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[74]"Sympathy with G.T.R. Trackmen," p. 3.

[75]"Twenty-One Years of Mission Work in Toronto 1886-1907. The Story of the Fred Victor Mission," (Toronto: The Fred Victor Mission Society of The Methodist Church), p. 7.

[76]"Sympathy with G.T.R. Trackmen," p. 4.

the committee on social questions, which asserted the need for public provision of social services, still affirmed "man's distinctive glory of self-determination."[77] The ability of the individual to change his circumstances was also affirmed by A.C. Courtice, who had written in support of a changed economic system in which liberality would replace the selfishness of the present system.[78] Courtice criticised Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward, 2000-1887 for failing to distinguish the lazy from the industrious.[79] In this book, Bellamy had sketched a future utopian society in the United States based on public ownership of property. Canadian Methodists considered the social changes effected by welfare to be important, but they did not consider these changes adequate apart from individual change. This affirmation of the equal importance of individual and social change was not unlike that of Washington Gladden, Congregationalist pastor and American social gospel leader. Gladden's assertion that no man could be redeemed alone was followed by the converse, no community could be reformed without the regeneration of its individuals.[80]

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[77] "Report of the Committee on Social Questions," Journal of Proceedings, 1898, p. 323.

[78] A.C. Courtice, "Christian Socialism," The Canadian Methodist Magazine, (January 1894), p. 54.

[79] A.C. Courtice, "Sketch of Bellamy's 'Looking Backward,'" The Christian Guardian, (15 September 1897), p. 577.

[80] Washington Gladden, Tools of Men, (1893), quoted in Royce, "Social Welfare," p. 211. In England, Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, operator of a London mission also continued to assert the need for personal reform, Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, "The Only Successful Missionary Method," The Canadian Methodist Magazine, (September 1894), p. 309.

Methodism's relation to the broader aspects of welfare revealed tension between the movement and denominational themes. The Methodist Church has been alternately described as having fathered and as having expelled a large proportion of Canada's radicals.[81] These descriptions, each partially correct though expelled is an overstatement, assert the fact that Methodism produced men interested in social reform but was not able to challenge or accommodate a number of them within its ranks. James S. Woodsworth, who probably contributed more than any other individual to social welfare in Canada, received his training and early experience in The Methodist Church but then sought a broader base of support for his work. In 1913 he became director of the Canadian Welfare League,[82] founded for social research and to promote better social conditions, and later went into federal politics. Salem Bland, supporter of labor and farmer causes and professor of church history at Wesley College from 1902, lost his teaching post through "staff reorganization" in 1917.[83] While Woodsworth and Bland represented a new expression of movement tradition there were others who chose to work for reform through denominational structures. A.C. Courtice who followed Dewart as editor of the Guardian and S.D. Chown may be cited. Chown, secretary of the Department of Temperance, Prohibition and Moral Reform from the time of its formation in 1902 and a secretary of the Social Service Council of Canada organized in 1907, followed Carman as General

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[81] McNaught, Prophet, p. 98.

[82] By this time Woodsworth had concluded that a minimum wage in Canada was necessary and that public ownership was probably the only way to protect the poor against exploitation by the rich, The Christian Guardian, (27 August 1913, cited by McNaught, Prophet, p. 61.

[83] McNaught, Prophet, p. 80.

Superintendent of The Methodist Church.

Though tension existed between these themes, denominational comprehensiveness overshadowed support for movement causes. Support for labor was restricted by an integrated view of society. Fearful of the disruptions that resulted from collective bargaining, Methodists thought labor questions could best be dealt with through legislation of better working conditions and by defining the rights and duties of workers and employers. This view that labor problems could best be solved by decision of the whole society rather than confrontation between capital and labor was shared by Roman Catholicism.[84] Presbyterians expressed their more independent tradition by calling for the settlement of labor disputes through arbitration.[85] The idea that social change did not make individual change any less necessary was also a product of denominational comprehensiveness. This position qualified both traditional Methodist concentration on individual change and radical views of the effect of social change.

In its approach to welfare, The Methodist Church's movement tradition was a minor but persistent theme. Welfare services began in mission areas as an accommodation to special needs rather than in areas of Methodist strength as an integral part of its task. When they were provided in areas of Methodist strength, welfare services were more local in organization and

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[84]Legislation and definition of responsibilities were the solutions advocated in the 1891 Papal Encyclical dealing with labor problems, see Pope Leo XIII, "The Condition of the Working Classes," in Anne Fremantle ed., The Papal Encyclicals in Their Historical Contest, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1956), pp. 166-195.

[85]Edward A. Christie, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada and its Official Attitude toward Public Affairs and Social Problems 1875-1925," M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1955), p. 73.

more limited in resources than education or mission. While education and mission were societies of the General Conference, welfare largely remained the responsibility of congregations and special auxiliaries. If the tendency to make welfare a local matter had been used in education, Methodist universities would not have developed. At the congregational level, the development of city missions rather than institutional churches was also a product of the movement theme. This pattern permitted congregations to concentrate on proclamation while city missions struggled along with limited support. In addition the model for Methodism's diaconate was that of primative Christianity rather than the highly institutional Roman Catholic orders.

However, the primary emphasis of The Methodist Church in welfare was denominational. The medical, city mission, and deaconess work of Methodism was at least as extensive as that of Presbyterianism and Anglicanism. Where Methodism was behind these bodies, as in the operation of industrial schools, it complained to the federal government of being "ignored" in this work and negotiated for grants.[86] The denomination with the strongest institutions, Roman Catholicism, served as a challenging example for Methodist hospital and deaconess work. In the diaconate report for 1901, Canadian Methodist women were challenged by the work Roman Catholic women were doing in the United States with children, the sick, the aged, in education and reformation. In and near three major cities in the United

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[86]"The Missionary Society of The Methodist Church; 'General Board of Missions;' 1888 Annual Meeting in Grace Church, Winnipeg, Sept. 11, 1888," Board Minutes, 1884-1892, United Church Archives, Victoria University, p. 189.

States there were 5,300 nuns.[87] In the broader aspects of welfare, denominational comprehensiveness took precedence over a movement's preoccupation with a special cause. Methodism's support for labor was qualified by concern for the unity of society, and its interest in social reform was balanced by its affirmation of the need for individual reform.

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[87] "Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Management of the Toronto Deaconess Home and Training School of The Methodist Church, 1900-1901," (Toronto: William Briggs), p. 9.

CONCLUSION

The Methodist Church continued to be influenced by its movement tradition. The traditional emphasis on religious experience was still basic to Methodist theology. Presbyterianism and Roman Catholicism were notably more attached to a body of doctrine. In higher education Methodism was the church that adapted most readily to pressures for cooperation exerted by the diverse and limited Canadian population. This adaptability can probably be attributed to Methodism's less established position on the relation of church to state. In mission Methodist confidence in the presence of the missionary indicated a continuing movement emphasis on evangelical reform. There were instances of similar confidence in even the most denominational church, Roman Catholicism, but this was only a small part of that church's approach to mission. Father Albert Lacombe lived for some years with the Blackfeet, but then turned to the denominational work of promoting Roman Catholic settlement. In worship, the preaching tradition of Methodism and Presbyterianism reflected more movement influence than the liturgical traditions of Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism. Preaching tends to be individualistic and contemporary; liturgy tends to be corporate and timeless. While preaching challenges the individual, liturgy binds members of a congregation to each other and to the tradition of centuries. Movement tradition influenced Methodism's welfare work as

well. A significant number of the radical members of the social gospel received their basic training in The Methodist Church.

But the primary emphasis of The Methodist Church was denominational. This emphasis was marked by denominational institutions and ideology. In mission, welfare, and education, the institutions of The Methodist Church were exceeded only by those of Roman Catholicism. The local and portable mission structures of the Methodist movement were largely replaced by the centralized and fixed structures characteristic of the major churches. Where the circuit and class meeting had carried the message to the people, the congregation and Sunday school drew people into a central structure. A number of new structures, the city missions, the diaconate, and The Woman's Missionary Society, were used by The Methodist Church to do welfare work. Methodist initiative in university federation further attested to that church's interest in denominational institutions. Federation gave The Methodist Church a role in a major university, and gave Methodist students the educational advantages of a large university combined with the social and religious life of a church college.

The growth of Methodist interest in denominational institutions was signalled by changes in the training and appointment of clergy. The early itinerants were trained through a guided reading program on the job. When Victoria University was established clerical candidates were encouraged, though not required, to take arts work in addition to the reading course. Candidates who did well on the circuit did not always see a need for arts training and Principal S. Nelles once complained of getting only the failures. The first formal training for clergy at Victoria began in 1871.

Theological training was given further emphasis with the founding of Wesleyan in Montreal, Canadian Methodism's first exclusively theological school, and Wesley College in Winnipeg which taught theology along with arts. The pattern in the new Methodist schools in Montreal and Winnipeg followed that of schools in other denominations, where theological training had always been of prime importance. The new emphasis on required training for church work was reinforced in the diaconate. When the diaconate was founded in 1894, it had formal training immediately. While clerical training was becoming more formal, the Methodist pastorate was becoming more settled as well. In the 1820's itinerants had been appointed annually to circuits, with occasional reappointment to the same circuit.[1] The length of the term was later changed to three years, and in 1898 memorials from Annual Conferences to the General Conference requested that the term be lengthened to four years.[2]

The second mark of the denominational emphasis in The Methodist Church was ideological comprehensiveness. This mark was illustrated by organizational unity. The historical criticism debate revealed a broad range of theological opinion within The Methodist Church. This diversity led to tension and to some intolerance but did not lead to organizational division. In the university federation question conflicting views were also contained within organizational unity. In both the theological and the educational

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[1]Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, p. 56.

[2]A.C. Courtice, "General Conference Legislation," The Christian Guardian, (31 August 1898), p. 1. In the Presbyterian church pastorates sometimes lasted twenty-five years or more, though the average may not have been much more than four years, McCurdy, Macdonnell, pp. 61, 68, 388.

question respect for corporate decision outweighed special interests. Preparation to merge with other denominations can be seen as an extension of denominational comprehensiveness. A movement cannot merge with a denomination without submerging its special cause. But a denomination, in response to theological or missionary imperatives, may decide to combine forces with other denominations.

The ideological comprehensiveness of The Methodist Church was further affirmed by the withdrawal of utopian elements, who felt the church did not adequately support their special interests. Ralph Horner, who tried to promote an emotional notion of perfection, left in 1895. He was technically deposed but not until after his free-lance revivalism had been tolerated for nearly a decade. Pacifists also found themselves isolated in The Methodist Church, especially after the introduction of conscription in 1917. Pacifism effected a breach between Woodsworth and The Methodist Church not caused by earlier doctrinal problems.[3] In 1902 and in 1907 Woodsworth had attempted to resign because he thought his theology was not consistent with Methodist doctrine but his colleagues persuaded him that his views were acceptable.[4] Pacifism along with his attachment to the working class also led to the departure of William Ivens.[5] All denominations probably include a number of pacifists but their position

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[3]Woodsworth's letter of resignation is printed in McNaught, Prophet, pp. 82-85. The letter refers to other problems as well but the main difficulty was Woodsworth's inability to reconcile his pacifism with general Methodist support for the war.

[4]McNaught, Prophet, pp. 22, 34-36.

[5]McNaught, Prophet, pp. 49, 97.

becomes difficult during a major war effort. A denomination may oppose participation by its country in a given war but no large denomination is in principle pacifist. The more utopian members of the social gospel also left The Methodist Church. This element of the social gospel eventually burned itself out on the stubbornness and selfishness of the larger society, but not before it had made important contributions to welfare in Canada. The small number of people who left The Methodist Church indicated it was comprehensive enough for most Canadian Methodists. The Holiness Churches founded by Horner gained only a few thousand members.[6] By contrast sizeable bodies, the Salvation Army and the Church of the Nazarene, developed out of British and American Methodism respectfully.

Denominational interests were predominant in important questions from every basic area of the life of The Methodist Church. The early Methodist movement had had little interest and few resources for theological discussion. But The Methodist Church provided the most adequate Canadian response to historical criticism. Critical questions related to the Biblical documents gained full discussion in Methodist publications, which included the only theological quarterly in Canada. University federation was also a question of interest to a denomination rather than a movement. Federation required a fairly sophisticated understanding of the way institutions relate to each other. The newly expanded role of the laity in The Methodist Church was decisive for this venture as well as for welfare services. In welfare Methodism took the comprehensive approach of balancing new ideas of social change against its traditional emphasis on individual change.

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[6] Walsh, Christian Church, p. 312.

Finally, when missionary motives led Methodism into discussion with other churches, the denominational interest in corporate unity won out over Methodism's initial preference for cooperation. Significantly, virtually all Methodists entered the interdenominational merger of 1925. Through its recent experience with its membership, other churches, and the state, The Methodist Church had become adept at making corporate decisions.

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